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THE JESUIT RELATIONS
AND
ALLIED DOCUMENTS

VOL. X



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The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITAL-
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. X

HURONS: 1636

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Translators . . .	{ WILLIAM FREDERIC GIESE
	CRAWFORD LINDSAY
	{ WILLIAM PRICE
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Bibliographical Adviser	VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

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XXVI. Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1636. [Part II., being Brébeuf's *Relation of the Hurons* for this year, originally published as an appendix to Le Jeune's *Relation of 1636*, and thus completing the document.] *Jean de Brébeuf*; Ihonatiria, July 16, 1636 5

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PREFACE TO VOL. X

Following is a synopsis of the third and final installment of Document XXVI., contained in the present volume:

XXVI. In the Preface to Vol. VIII., we explained that the *Relation* of 1636, like many others of the series, is a composite. Part I. is a general report to the provincial of the Jesuits, at Paris, upon the progress and condition of the missions in New France, in 1636, from the pen of the superior, Le Jeune; Part II. consists of a specific *Relation*, addressed to the latter by Brébeuf, of the mission to the Hurons for this year. In Vols. VIII. and IX. were presented Le Jeune's *Relation* proper, the present volume being devoted to Brébeuf's Huron *Relation*, thus completing the document.

As usual, Brébeuf commences his annual letter by describing "the conversion, baptism, and happy death of some Hurons." During the year, the missionaries in that far-away field have baptized eighty-six savages,—an encouraging gain over the fourteen who were "rescued from the service of the devil" during the first year of their labors. Their great hope is in the conversion of the children, who, they report, show surprising aptitude and willingness to learn the doctrines of the Christian faith; and, through them, many parents have been reached.

At a council of the Huron chiefs, Brébeuf produces

letters from Champlain and Duplessis-Bochart, who exhort the tribesmen to follow the teaching of the missionaries, and embrace Christianity; to emphasize this advice, and in accordance with the custom of the country, he "presents to the assembly a collar of twelve hundred beads of Porcelain, telling them that it was given to smooth the difficulties of the road to Paradise."

The writer describes the unusual and intense drought which prevailed throughout Canada, in the spring and early summer of 1635. The Huron country, being sandy, is especially affected, and is threatened with a total failure of the crops. The "sorcerers," or medicine men, practice all their arts to bring rain, but without success, and attribute their failure to the cross erected by the missionaries. The latter, as a last resort, appeal to their patron saints; and abundant rains are secured,—in June, by a novena of masses in honor of St. Joseph; and in August, by another novena for St. Ignace. The result is a plentiful harvest, which increases the good will of the savages toward the black gowns.

The Hurons are in constant dread of hostile incursions from the Iroquois; the missionaries promise to assist them in such emergencies, and instruct them how to improve the fortifications around their villages; for this, the Hurons are duly grateful.

In August, Mercier and Pijart arrive from Quebec,—a welcome reinforcement. Many details of missionary work are given,—journeys, instructions, debates with Indians, conversions, baptisms, etc. Louis de Sainte-Foi (Amantacha), who had been educated in France during 1626-28, is praised for his intelligence, fidelity, and Christian character;

and he greatly aids the labors of the missionaries.

An embassy of Island savages (from the Allumettes) visits the Hurons, attempting, but in vain, to incite them to an attack on the Iroquois. Brébeuf takes this opportunity to win, for himself and his brethren, the friendship of these Islanders,—giving them a canoe and other presents.

For the benefit of those of his brethren in France who desire to undertake missionary work in the Huron country, Brébeuf recounts the many perils of the journey hither, and the annoyances and dangers to which apostles of the faith are continually exposed among the savages; but he offers much encouragement and consolation to those who are willing, nevertheless, to brave all obstacles, and to devote themselves to the conversion of the natives.

The missionaries are compiling a grammar and dictionary of the Huron dialect; and Brébeuf devotes a chapter to the peculiarities of this tongue.

The second part of this *Relation*, is occupied by a minute account of “the beliefs, manners, and customs of the Hurons,”—their myths of Deity and creation; their notions regarding the nature of man's soul, and its condition after death; their worship of the sky, and of demons; their superstitions, and faith in dreams; their feasts and dances; their games, and the general habit of gambling. Then are described, at length, the tricks of medicine men; the national characteristics of the Huron tribes; their customs, both in peace and war; their councils and oratory; and, finally, their solemn feast of the dead,—at which ghastly ceremony, once in twelve years, the corpses of all who have died during that time receive a public and common burial.

Brébeuf closes his account with an expression of much hope for the future success of their labors,—mingled, however, with fear lest these savage neophytes may grow restive when placed under greater restrictions on their moral and social conduct, than have thus far seemed advisable to the cautious missionaries.

The translation of Brébeuf's portion of the *Relation* of 1636, contained in the present volume, was made by the late James McFie Hunter, M. A., of Barrie, Ont.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., October, 1897.

XXVI (concluded)

LE JEUNE'S RELATION, 1636

PARIS: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1637

Part I. (Le Jeune's own *Relation*) appeared in Volumes VIII., IX. The present installment, which closes the document, is Part II., consisting of Brébeuf's annual report on the Huron mission.

[1] Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans le Pays
des Hvrons en l'année 1636.

*Enuoyée à Kébec au R. P. Paul le Jeune Supérieur de la Mission
de la Compagnie de JESVS, en la Nouvelle France.*

MON REVEREND PERE,
Ayant appris, tant par vos lettres, que par
le recit des Peres, qui arriuerent heureuse-
ment l'an passé, comme l'ancienne France brusle de
tres-ardens desirs pour la Nouvelle; que nostre R. P.
General cherit cette Mission comme la prunelle de
ses yeux; que le P. Prouincial s'y porte de tout son
cœur; que le feu est si grand dans nos Colleges, qu'il
est plus difficile d'appaiser les [2] larmes de ceux
qu'on éconduit, & auxquels on refuse de nous venir
ayder, que de trouuer des ouuriers; qu'une infinité
de personnes Relig[i]euses & seculieres, offrent conti-
nuellement à Dieu leurs prieres & leurs vœux pour
la conuersion des pauvres Barbares de tout ce pays,
& qu'en la Maison de Montmartre, sans parler des
autres, il y a incessamment nuit & iour une Reli-
gieuse prosternée deuant le S. Sacrement, qui prie à
cette intention: Tout cela nous fait croire & esperer,
que Dieu veut maintenant ouurir les thresors de ses
graces & faueurs dessus ces pauvres Peuples, & leur
deffiler les yeux de l'ame pour cognoistre la verité.
Car il n'inciteroit pas tant de deuotes personnes à de-
mander, s'il n'auoit enuie de les exaucer: Ioint que
nous sçauons que la peuplade de Kébec se va grande-

[1] Relation of what occurred in the Country of
the Hurons in the year 1636.

*Sent to Kébec to Reverend Father Paul le Jeune, Superior of the
Mission of the Society of JESUS, in New France.*

MY REVEREND FATHER,
Having learned from your letters, and from the statements of the Fathers who arrived here fortunately last year, how old France is burning with ardent desires for the New; that our Reverend Father General cherishes this Mission as the apple of his eye; that the Father Provincial is inclined to it with his whole heart; that the ardor in our Colleges is so great that it is more difficult to check the [2] tears of those who are turned away, and refused permission to come to our assistance, than to find those who will work; that a very great number of persons, Religious and secular, are continually offering their prayers and their vows to God for the conversion of the poor Barbarians of this whole country; and that in the House of Montmartre, not to speak of others, a Nun is prostrated night and day before the Holy Sacrament, praying for this result; all this makes us hope and believe that God will now open the treasures of his grace and favor upon these poor Peoples, and unseal the eyes of their souls to know the truth. For he would not incite so many devout persons to ask, if he had not the inclination to grant their prayers. Besides, we learn that the colony of Kebec is rapidly increasing, through the efforts

ment multipliant par les foins de Messieurs les Affo-
ciez de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, qui n'ef-
pargnent rien de leur costé; & que nous esperons que
le bon exemple de nos François seruira grandement,
tant à ramasser & encourager les Sauuages errants, &
faineants au trauail, qu'à les porter à vouloir faire
pour Dieu ce qu'ils verront estre faisable. Outre
que ie puis dire [3] avec raison, que si la diuine Bonté
continuë à répandre ses faueurs & benedictiōs sur nos
Hurons, & sur nous, qui les cultiuons, ainsi comme
elle a fait depuis nostre arriuée, il faut dans [sans]
doute attendre icy vn iour vne plantureuse moisson
des ames. Ce n'est pas qu'il n'y ait parmy ces Peu-
ples beaucoup d'erreurs, de superstitions, de vices, &
de tres-mauuaises coustumes à dèraciner, encore plus
que nous ne nous estions figurez au commencement,
ainsi qu'il se verra au cours de ceste Relation. Mais
avec Dieu rien n'est impossible; c'est par son ayde que
nous auons desia planté la Croix parmy ceste Barba-
rie, & que nous commençons & continuërons, s'il luy
plaist, à publier le nom & les merueilles de celuy,
qui par la Croix a racheté le monde. Mais en voila
assez en general, il faut descendre plus en particu-
lier; ce que ie feray volontiers, & amplement, vous
asseurant que ie n'auanceray rien que ie n'aye veu
moy-mesme, ou que ie n'aye appris de personnes
dignes de foy.

of Messieurs the Associates of the Company of New France, who spare no pains on their side; and we hope the good example of our Frenchmen will greatly aid not only to bring together and encourage to work the idle and wandering Savages, but to incite them to do for God what they shall find practicable. Moreover, I can say [3] with reason that if divine Goodness continues to scatter his favors and blessings on our Hurons, and on us who labor among them, as freely as he has done since our arrival, we ought, without doubt, to expect here some day an abundant harvest of souls. It is true, there are among these Tribes many errors, superstitions, vices, and utterly evil customs to uproot,—more than we had imagined at first, as will be seen in the course of this Relation; but with God nothing is impossible. It is by his aid that we have already planted the Cross in the midst of this Barbarism, and are beginning and will continue, if it please him, to make known the name and marvelous works of him who by the Cross has redeemed the world. But enough has been said in a general way; it is time to enter into particulars, which I shall willingly and fully do, assuring you that I shall state nothing that I have not seen myself or have not learned from persons worthy of credence.

[4] Première Partie.

CHAPITRE PREMIER.

DE LA CONVERSION, BAPTESME & HEUREUSE MORT
DE QUELQUES HURONS, & DE L'ESTAT DU
CHRISTIANISME EN CESTE BARBARIE.

IL y en a eu ceste année quatrevingts fix de baptizez, auxquels ioignant les quatorze de l'année passée, ce font en tout cent, que nous croyons estre fortis de la feruitude du diable en ce pays depuis nostre retour. De ce nôbre Dieu en a appelé dix au Ciel, fix en bas aage, & quatre plus aduancez. L'un d'iceux nommé François *Sang&ati* estoit Capitaine de nostre village; il estoit naturellement bon, & consentit tres volontiers à estre instruit, & recevoir le S. Baptesme, qu'il auoit auparauant loüé & approuué en autrui. J'admiray la douce Prouidence de Dieu en la conuersion d'une femme, qui est l'une des quatre decedez; laquelle ie baptisay [5] cet Automne au village de *Scanonaenrat*, en retournant de la maison de Louys de saincte Foy, où nous estions allez instruire ses parens. La furdité de ceste malade, & la profondeur des mysteres que ie luy propoisois, faisoit qu'elle ne m'entendoit pas suffisamment, ioinct que l'accent de ceste Nation, un peu different de celui des Ours où nous sommes, mesme mon ignorance en la langue, accroissoient la difficulté, & me rendoient moins intelligible. Mais Nostre Seigneur qui vouloit sauuer

[4] Part First.

CHAPTER FIRST.

OF THE CONVERSION, BAPTISM, AND HAPPY DEATH OF
SOME HURONS; AND OF THE CONDITION OF
CHRISTIANITY AMID THIS BARBARISM.

DURING the present year, eighty-six have been baptized, and, adding to these the fourteen of last year, there are a hundred souls in all who, we believe, have been rescued from the service of the devil in this country since our return. Of this number God has called ten to Heaven,—six while they were young, and four more advanced in age. One of these, named François *Sangwati*, was Captain of our village. He had a naturally good disposition, and consented very willingly to be instructed and to receive Holy Baptism, a course he had previously praised and approved in others. I admired the tender Providence of God in the conversion of a woman, who is one of the four deceased. I baptized her [5] this Autumn at the village of *Scanonaenrat*,¹ when returning from the house of Louys de sainte Foy, where we had gone to instruct his parents. The deafness of this sick woman, and the depths of the mysteries I brought to her notice, prevented her from sufficiently understanding me; and, besides, the accent of that Nation is a little different from that of the Bears, with whom we live. My own imperfect acquaintance with the language rendered me

ceste ame, nous pourueut incontinent d'un ieune hōme, lequel nous seruit de truchement. Il s'estoit trouué avec nous en la Cabane de Louys, & nous auoit ouy discourir de nos mysteres, de forte qu'il en possedit desia vne bonne partie, & conceuoit fort bien ce que ie luy disois. On dit que ceste femme qui fut nommée Marie, dans ses plus grandes foibleffes, predict qu'elle ne mourroit de huict iours; ce qui arriua.

Ils ne recherchent presque le Baptesme que pour la fanté. Nous taschons de purifier ceste intention, & les disposer à receuoir également de la main de Dieu la maladie & la fanté, la mort & la vie, & leurs enseignons que les eaux viuifiantes du S. [6] Baptesme, nous conferent principalement la vie de l'ame, & non celle du corps. Cependant ils ont ceste opinion si fort imprimée, que les baptisez, nommément les enfans, ne font plus malades, qu'ils l'aurent tãtost diuulguée & publiée par tout, de forte qu'on nous apporte plusieurs enfans à baptiser de deux, de trois, voire mesmes de sept lieuës.

Au reste la diuine Bonté, qui agit en nous suiuant la mesure de la Foy, a conserué iusques à present ces petits enfans en bonne fanté: de forte que la mort de ceux qui font decedez, a esté attribuée aux maladies incurables & desesperées dont ils estoient malades auparauant, & si quelqu'autre a esté par fois atteint de quelque petite maladie, les parens bien qu'encores infideles, l'ont rapportée à la negligence & au mespris qu'ils ont fait paroistre au seruice de Dieu.

Il y a en nostre village vne petite fille Chrestienne nommée Louyse, laquelle à six mois a commencé à marcher toute seule: les parens affeurent n'auoir encor

still less intelligible, and increased my difficulties. But Our Lord, who willed to save this soul, immediately sent us a young man, who served us as interpreter. He had been with us in the Cabin of Louys, and had heard us talking of our mysteries, so that he already knew a considerable part of them, and understood very well what I said. It is said that this woman, who was named Marie, in the midst of her greatest weakness foretold that she would not die for eight days; and so it happened.

They seek Baptism almost entirely as an aid to health. We try to purify this intention, and to lead them to receive from the hand of God alike sickness and health, death and life; and teach them that the life-giving waters of Holy [6] Baptism principally impart life to the soul, and not to the body. However, they have the opinion so deeply rooted that the baptized, especially the children, are no longer sickly, that soon they will have spread it abroad and published it everywhere. The result is that they are now bringing us children to baptize from two, three, yes, even seven leagues away.

Moreover, the divine Goodness which acts in us according to the measure of our Faith, has thus far preserved these little ones in good health; so that the death of those who have passed away has been attributed to incurable and hopeless maladies contracted beforehand; and, if another has occasionally suffered from some trifling ailment, the parents, although still unbelieving, have attributed it to the neglect and irreverence they have shown toward the service of God.

There is in our village a little Christian girl named Louyse, who at six months began to walk alone; the

rien veu de femblable, & l'attribuent à l'efficace du S. Baptesme. Vn autre nous disoit vn iour avec beaucoup de ioye, que son petit [7] garçon, qui estoit presque tousiours malade, & comme tout etique auant le Baptesme, s'estoit du depuis parfaitement bien porté. Cecy fuffira pour monstrier comme Nostre Seigneur va leur imprimant vne grande opinion de ce diuin Sacrement; laquelle se fortifie par la bonne & entiere fanté que Dieu nous donne, & qu'il a tousiours donnée à tous les François qui ont esté en ce pays: car, disent-ils, c'est merueille qu'horfmis vn feul qui est mort icy de sa mort naturelle, tous les autres, depuis vingt-cinq ans ou enuiron qu'on y hante, n'ayent quasi pas esté malades.

De tout cecy on pourra facilement recueillir l'estat present du Christianisme naissant en ce pays, & l'esperance du futur. Deux ou trois choses y seruiron encor. La premiere est la methode que nous tenons à l'instruction des Sauuages. Nous affemblons les hommes le plus souuent que nous pouuons, car leurs conseils, leurs festins, leurs ieux, & leurs danfes ne nous permettent pas de les auoir icy à toute heure, ny tous les iours. Nous auons égard particulièrement aux Anciens, d'autant que ce sont eux qui determinent & decident des affaires, & tout se fait fuiuant leurs aduis. [8] Tous viennent volontiers nous entendre, tous vniuerfellement disent qu'ils ont enuie d'aller au Ciel, & qu'ils redoutent ces braises ardentes de l'enfer: ils n'ont quasi rien à nous repliquer, nous souhaitterions quelquesfois qu'ils propoassent plus de doutes, ce qui nous donneroit tousiours plus d'occasiõ de leur déchiffrer par le menu nos saincts Mysteres. En verité les Cõmandemens de Dieu sont tres-iustes

parents declare they have seen nothing like it, and attribute it to the efficacy of Holy Baptism. Another person told us one day, with great delight, that his little [7] boy, who had always been sick and much emaciated before Baptism, had been very well since then. This will suffice to show how Our Lord is inspiring them with a high opinion of this divine Sacrament, which is strengthened by the perfect health God gives us, and which he has given to all the French who have been in this country; for, they say, it is very strange that, except a single man who died here from natural causes, all the others, during the twenty-five years or thereabout in which the French have been frequenting this region, have scarcely ever been sick.

From all this may be easily gathered the present state of the young Christianity of this country, and the hope for the future. Two or three things besides will help to the same end. The first is the method we pursue in the instruction of the Savages. We gather together the men as often as we can; for their councils, their feasts, their games, and their dances do not permit us to have them here at any hour, nor every day. We pay especial attention to the Old Men, inasmuch as they are the ones who determine and decide all matters, and everything is ordered by their advice. [8] All come willingly to hear us; all, without exception, say they have a desire to go to Heaven and fear the fiery torments of hell. They have hardly anything to answer us with; we could wish sometimes that they would bring forward more objections, which would always afford us better opportunity to explain our holy Mysteries in detail. Of a truth, the Commandments of God

& tres-raisonnables, & ceux là doivent estre moins qu'hommes qui y trouuent à redire; car nos Hurons qui n'ont encor que la lumiere naturelle, les ont trouué si beaux, & si conformes à la raison, qu'apres en auoir ouy l'explication, ils disoient par admiration *ca chia att8ain aa arrih8aa*, certes voila des affaires d'importance, & dignes d'estre proposées dans des conseils; ils disent la verité, ils ne disent rien hors de propos, nous n'auons iamais entendu de tels discours. Entre autres choses qui leur ont fait auoüer la verité d'un Dieu, Createur, Gouverneur & Conseruateur de toutes choses, fut l'exemple que ie leur apportay de l'enfant cõçu dans le ventre de la mere. Car qui est-ce, disois-ie, siñ Dieu, qui organise le corps de cet enfant, qui d'une mesme matiere [9] forme le cœur, le foye, le poulmon, bref vne infinie varieté de membres si necessaires, & tous si bien proportionnez & ioints les vns avec les autres: ce n'est pas le pere, car ces merueilles s'accomplissent en son absence, & quelquesfois apres sa mort. Ce n'est non plus la mere, car elle ne fçait ce qui se passe dedans son ventre: que si c'est le pere ou la mere qui forment ce corps à discretion, pourquoy n'engendrent-ils vn fils ou vne fille quand ils veulent? pourquoy ne produisent-ils des enfans beaux, grands, forts & adroits. Et si les parens donnent l'ame à leurs enfans? pourquoy ne leur departent-ils à tous de grands esprits, vne heureuse memoire, & toutes fortes de belles & loüables qualitez, veu qu'il n'y a personne qui ne desirast auoir de tels enfans, s'il estoit en son pouuoir? A cela nos Hurons s'estonnent, & n'ayant que respondre, ils cõfessent que nous disons la verité, & qu'en effet il y a vn Dieu, que d'oresnauant ils le veulent recognoistre,

are very just and reasonable, and they must be less than men who find therein anything to censure. Our Hurons, who have as yet only the light of nature, have found them so noble, so agreeable to reason, that after having heard the explanation of them they would say, in admiration, *ca chia attwain aa arrihwaa*, "Certainly these are important matters, and worthy of being discussed in our councils; they speak the truth, they say nothing but what is to the purpose; we have never heard such discourse." Among other things which made them acknowledge the truth of one God, Creator, Governor, and Preserver of all things, was the illustration I employed of the child conceived in its mother's womb. "Who," said I, "but God forms the body of this child; who out of one and the same material [9] forms the heart, the liver, the lungs,—in short, an infinite variety of members, all necessary, all well-proportioned, and joined one to another? Not the father, for these wonders take place in his absence, and sometimes after his death. Nor is it the mother, for she does not know what takes place in her womb. If it be the father or the mother that forms this body at discretion, why is not a son or a daughter begotten at will? Why do they not produce children, handsome, tall, strong, and active? And, if parents give the soul to their children, why do they not impart to all of them great minds, a retentive memory, and all sorts of noble and praiseworthy qualities, seeing that there is no one who would not desire to have such children if this were in his power?" To all this the Hurons, full of wonder, make no reply. They confess that we speak the truth, and that indeed there is a God; they declare that henceforth they will recognize,

le feruir & honorer, defirans d'estre promptement instruits, de forte qu'ils demandent que nous leur fassions tous les iours le Catechisme: mais cōme i'ay defia dit, leur[s] occupations & diuertiffemens ne le permettent pas.

[10] Outre cela, la conformité de tous les pointcs de la Doctrine Chrestienne leur plaist merueilleusement; car, disent-ils, vous parlez conformément, & tousiours consecutiuellement à ce que nous auez dit; vous n'extrauaguez point; vous ne dites riē hors de propos, mais nous autres nous parlōs à l'étourdy, sans sçauoir ce que nous difons. C'est le propre de la fausseté de s'ébarasser dans vne infinité de contradictions.

Le mal est, qu'ils font si attachez à leurs vieilles coustumes, que cognoissāt la beauté de la verité ils se contentent de l'approuuer sans l'embrasser. Leur réponse ordinaire est, *oniondechsten*, la coustume de nostre païs est telle. Nous auons combattu ceste excuse, & la leur auons ostée de la bouche, mais non encores du cœur; nostre Seigneur le fera quand il luy plaira.

C'est ainsi que nous agissons avec les Anciens; car pour autant que les femmes & les enfans nous caufoient beaucoup de trouble, nous auons trouué ceste inuention, qui nous reüssit assez bien: le P. Antoine Daniel, & les autres Peres vont tous les iours par toutes les Cabanes enseigner aux enfans, soit baptisez ou non, la doctrine Chrestienne, sçauoir est le signe de la Croix, [11] le *Pater*, l'*Aue*, le *Credo*, les Commandemens de Dieu, l'Oraison à l'Ange Gardien, & autres briefues prieres; le tout en leur langue, pource que ces Peuples ont vne ineptitude naturelle d'en apprendre vne autre.

Les Dimanches nous assemblons toute ceste ieu-

serve, and honor him; and, desiring to be promptly instructed, they ask us to teach them the Catechism every day; but, as I have said, their occupations and amusements do not permit that.

[10] Moreover, the harmony of all points of Christian Doctrine pleases them wonderfully; "For," they say, "you always speak connectedly, and consistently with what you have said; you never wander off, you never speak save to the purpose; we, on the contrary, speak heedlessly, not knowing what we say." It is a characteristic of falsehood to embarrass itself in a multitude of contradictions.

The evil is, they are so attached to their old customs that, knowing the beauty of truth, they are content to approve it without embracing it. Their usual reply is, *oniondechouten*, "Such is the custom of our country." We have fought this excuse and have taken it from their mouths, but not yet from their hearts; our Lord will do that when it shall please him.

Thus, then, we deal with the Old Men. As the women and children caused us much trouble, we have hit upon this plan, which succeeds fairly well. Father Antoine Daniel and the other Fathers go every day through the Cabins, teaching the children, whether baptized or not, Christian doctrine,—namely, the sign of the Cross, [11] the *Pater*, the *Ave*, the *Credo*, the Commandments of God, the Prayer to the Guardian Angel, and other brief prayers, all in their own tongue, because these Peoples have a natural inaptitude for learning any other.

On Sundays, we assemble all these young people twice in our Cabin, which serves as a Chapel. In the morning we get them to assist at Mass, even

neffe par deux fois dās nostre Cabane qui nous fert de Chappelle. Le matin nous les faisons affister à la Messe iufques à l'offertoire; deuant laquelle nous faisons folemnellement l'eau benifte, puis ie leur fais dire à tous enfemble apres moy le *Pater*, l'*Aue*, & autres prieres qu'ils fçauent. L'aprefdinée ie leur propofe quelque petite demande du Catechifme, & leur fais rendre compte de ce qu'ils ont appris pendant la femaine, donnant à chacun quelque petit prix felon fon merite.

Cefte methode coniointe avec ces petites recompens a des effects incroyables: car premierement cela a allumé parmy tous les enfans vn fi grand defir d'apprendre, qu'il n'y en a point du tout, pourueu qu'ils fçachent tant foit peu beguayer, qui ne vueillent eftre instruits, & comme ils font quafi tous d'un afsez bon efprit, c'est avec vn grand progres; car mefme ils [12] s'instruifent les vns les autres.

Ie ne fçauois dire le contentement & la consolation que nous donne cefte petite ieunesse, quand nous confiderons leurs Peres plongez encor dans leurs superstitions, quoy qu'ils recognoiffent fuffifamment la verité. Il nous vient en penfée de craindre que Dieu irrité par leurs pechez ne les ayt rebutez encor pour vn temps; car pour les enfans fans doute il leur tend les bras, & les attire à foy; l'ardeur qu'ils tesmoignent à apprendre ce qui regarde le deuoir d'un Chrestien nous empesche d'en douter; les plus petits se viennent ietter entre nos bras quand nous allons par les Cabanes, & ne se font point prier pour dire & eftre instruits. Le P. Daniel a trouué l'inuention d'appaiser vn petit enfant, quand il le trouue pleurant entre les bras de fa mere; qui est de luy faire faire le figne

to the offertory, before which we solemnly bless the holy water; then I make them say all together, after me, the *Pater*, the *Ave*, and other prayers they know. In the afternoon I propose to them some little question from the Catechism, and make them give account of what they have learned during the week, giving to each some little prize according to his merit.

This method, along with the little rewards, has wonderful results. For, in the first place, it has kindled among all the children so great a desire to learn that there is not even one who, if it can stammer out words at all, does not desire to be instructed; and, as they are almost all fairly intelligent, they make rapid progress, for they even [12] teach one another.

I cannot tell you the satisfaction and consolation these little children give us. When we consider their Fathers, still plunged in their superstitions, although recognizing sufficiently the truth, we are afraid that God, provoked by their sins, has rejected them for a time; but, as for the children, without doubt he holds out his arms to them and draws them to himself. The eagerness they show to learn the duties of a Christian keeps us from doubting it. The smallest ones throw themselves into our arms, as we pass through the Cabins, and do not require to be urged to talk and to learn. Father Daniel hit upon the plan of quieting a little child, crying in its mother's arms, by having it make the sign of the Cross. And indeed, one day when I had just been teaching the Catechism to them in our Cabin, this child made us laugh; its mother was carrying it in her arms, and was going out; but, as soon as she reached the door, it began to cry so that she was com-

de la Croix: Et de fait, vn iour que ie venois de leur faire le Catechisme en nostre Cabane; cet enfant nous fit rire: sa mere le portoit entre ses bras, & s'en alloit, mais elle ne fut pas si tost sur le seuil de la porte qu'il se prit à pleurer, de sorte qu'elle fut contrainte de rentrer; elle luy demande ce qu'il auoit, Que ie recommence, [13] dit-il, que ie recommence, ie veux encor dire. Le luy fis donc faire derechef le signe de la Croix, & il se prit incontinent à rire, & à sauter d'aïse. L'ay veu le mesme vne autrefois pleurer bien fort pour auoir eu le doigt froissé, cependant s'appaiser, & rire, aussi-tost qu'on luy eust fait faire le signe de la Croix. Le m'estend volontiers sur ce fuiet, ne doutant point que les bonnes ames ne prennent plaisir d'entendre toutes ces particularitez; dans les commencemens de ceste Eglise naissante, que pouuons nous raconter sinon les begayemens de nos enfans spirituels? Nous auons vne petite fille entre autres nommée Marie *Aoesfda*, qui n'a point sa pareille; vous diriez que tout son contentement soit de faire le signe de la Croix, & de dire son *Pater* & *Aue*, à peine auons nous mis le pied dans sa Cabane, qu'elle quitte tout pour prier Dieu. Quand nous assemblons les enfans pour la priere ou pour le Catechisme, elle se trouue tousiours des premieres, & y accourt plus gayement que plusieurs ne feroient au ieu; elle ne bouge de chez nous, & ne se lasse point de faire le signe de la Croix, & de dire & redire cinquante fois le iour le *Pater* & *Aue*; elle le fait faire aux autres, & vn de nos [14] François estant arriué de nouveau; pour tout compliment, elle luy prist la main, & luy fit faire le signe de la Croix. Souuent elle se trouue dans la campagne quand nos Peres y recitent leur Office elle

pelled to turn back. She asked it what was the matter. "Let me begin again," [13] it said, "let me begin again, I want to say more." I then got it to make again the sign of the Cross, and it immediately began to laugh and to jump for joy. I saw the same child, another time, crying hard because it had had its finger frozen; but it quieted down and laughed, as soon as they had it make the sign of the Cross. I dwell willingly upon this matter, as I am sure pious souls take pleasure in hearing all these particulars. In the beginnings of this infant Church, what can we speak about if not the stammerings of our spiritual children? We have one little girl, among others, named Marie *Aoesiwa*, who has not her equal. Her whole satisfaction seems to be in making the sign of the Cross and in saying her *Pater* and *Ave*. Scarcely have we set foot in her Cabin, when she leaves everything to pray to God. When we assemble the children for prayers or for Catechism, she is always among the first, and hastens there more cheerfully than many would to play. She does not stir from our Cabin, and does not omit making the sign of the Cross, and saying over and over fifty times a day the *Pater* and *Ave*. She gets others to do the same; and, one of our [14] Frenchman having newly come, her only greeting was to take his hand, and have him make the sign of the Cross. Often she is in the field when our Fathers recite their Office there; she stands in the road, and, almost every time they return, she begins to make the sign of the Cross, and to pray to God in a loud voice.

Another little girl named Catherine had often been wayward about receiving instruction, and so had not been rewarded like the others. Some days afterward,

se tient dans le chemin, & presque autant de fois qu'ils se retournent, elle se met à faire le signe de la Croix, & à prier Dieu à haute voix.

Vne autre petite nommee Catherine, auoit fait fouuent la difficile à se faire instruire, & en suite n'auoit point esté recompensee comme les autres: quelques iours apres vne sienne compagne l'amena à vn des nostres, luy faisant accroire qu'elle estoit toute disposée à dire; mais quand ce fut au fait & au prendre, elle fit à l'ordinaire; alors ceste petite qui l'auoit amenee se mist en humeur, & employa toute sa petite rhétorique naturelle pour luy déferer les levres, & la faire parler, tantost vsant de menaces, tantost luy faisant esperer quelque recompense de moy, si elle disoit bien, & fit si bien qu'elle en vint à bout au grand contentement de celui des nostres qui l'escoutoit.

Vn autre bien qu'apporte ceste pratique conforme à nostre Institut, est que les grâds mesmes demeurent [deviennent] par ce moyen instruits; [15] car le desir que les peres & meres ont que leurs enfans soient loüez & recompenez de quelque prix, fait qu'ils s'instruisent eux-mesmes pour instruire leurs enfans; particulièrement beaucoup de grandes filles prennent plaisir à imiter les petites. Quand elles retournent du bois, fouuent elles s'arrestent au premier de nos Peres qu'elles rencontrent, & luy disent *ta arrih8aiens-tan sen*, enseigne moy ie te prie, & quoy qu'elles soient bien chargees, elles ne sont point contentes qu'on ne leur ait fait dire le *Pater* & l'*Aue*. Quelques-fois mesmes elles nous preuiennent, & de si loin qu'elles apperçoient quelqu'un de nous autres, elles se mettent à dire ce qu'elles sçauent. Quelle consolation d'entendre retentir ces campagnes du nom de

one of her companions brought her to one of our Fathers, giving him to understand that she was quite disposed to learn; but, when it came to the point, she acted as usual. The little girl who had brought her became annoyed, and used all her little natural rhetoric to make her open her lips and to get her to speak,—sometimes using threats, sometimes holding out a reward from me if she spoke properly; she was so earnest that she succeeded, to the great satisfaction of those of our Fathers who were listening to her.

Another benefit that results from this practice—which is in conformity with our Institute—is, that even the adults become instructed by this means; [15] for the desire of the fathers and mothers that their children should be praised and rewarded leads them to be instructed themselves, in order to teach their children; particularly many older girls take pleasure in imitating the younger ones. When they are returning from the forest, they often stop the first of our Fathers whom they meet, and say to him, *ta arrihwaienstan sen*, “Teach me, I pray thee;” and although they may be well laden, they are not satisfied unless he has them say the *Pater* and the *Ave*. Sometimes they anticipate us, and, from as far as they can see one of our Fathers, they begin to recite what they know. What a consolation to hear these districts resound with the name of JESUS, where the devil has been, so to speak, adored and recognized as God during so many ages.

This exercise also enables us to improve greatly in the use and knowledge of the language, which is no small gain. Generally speaking they praise and approve the Christian Religion, and blame their wicked customs; but when will they leave them off entirely?

IESVS, où le diable a esté, pour ainfi dire, adoré & reconnu pour Dieu par tant de siecles.

Ce mefme exercice fait que nous profitons beaucoup en l'vfage & cognoiffance de la langue, qui n'est pas vn petit fruit. Vniuerfellement parlant ils loient & approuuent la Religion Chrestienne, & blaifment leurs mefchantes couftumes; & quand fera-ce qu'ils les quitteront tout à fait? Quelques-vns nous difent, Penfez-vous [16] venir à bout de renuerfer le Pays, c'est ainfi qu'ils appellent le changement de leur vie Payenne & Barbare, en vne vie ciuile & Chrestienne? Nous respondons que nous ne fommes pas fi prefomp-tueux, mais que ce qui est impossible aux hommes, est non feulement poffible, mais facile à Dieu. Voicy encor vn autre indice de leur bonne volonté pour la Foy. Monsieur de Champlain & Monsieur le General du Pleffis Bochart, nous obligerent grandement l'annee paffee, exhortant les Hurons en plein confeil à embrasser la Religion Chrestienne, & leur difant que c'estoit là l'vnique moyen non feulement d'estre vn iour veritablement heureux dans le Ciel, mais auffi de lier à l'auenir vne tres-eftruite amitié avec les François, lefquels en ce faifant viendroient volontiers en leur Pays, fe marieroient à leurs filles, leurs apprendroient diuers arts & mestiers, & les affifteroient contre leurs ennemis; & que s'ils vouloient amener quelques-vns de leurs enfans l'an prochain, qu'on les instruiroit à Kébec, que nos Peres en auroient vn grand foin. Et pour autant que les Capitaines du pays n'estoient pas là bas, ils leur dirent qu'ils tinffent confeil tous enfemble quand ils [17] feroient de retour touchant les poincts fuddits, & qu'ils me rendiffent les lettres dont il leur pleuft m'honorer, par lefquelles ces Messieurs nous donnoient aduis de ce qui auoit

Some say to us: "Do you think [16] you are going to succeed in overturning the Country?" Thus do they style the change from their Pagan and Barbarous life to one that is civilized and Christian. We reply that we are not so presumptuous, but that what is impossible to man is not only possible but easy to God. Here is another indication of their good will toward the Faith. Monsieur de Champlain and Monsieur the General du Plessis Bochart rendered us great service last year, by exhorting the Hurons in full council to embrace the Christian Religion, and by telling them that it was the only means not only of being some day truly happy in Heaven, but also of cementing in the future a very close alliance with the French,—who, if this were done, would readily come into their Country, marry their daughters, teach them different arts and trades, and assist them against their enemies; and that, if they would bring some of their children next year, to be instructed at Kébec, our Fathers would take good care of them. And, inasmuch as the Captains of the country were not there, they asked them to hold a general council on their [17] return, concerning the points mentioned; also to give me the letters with which they were pleased to honor me, in which these Gentlemen informed us of what had been said, in order that we might be present at the Huron Council, and be able to avail ourselves of what they had done. In accordance with this, in the month of April last, having been invited to an Assembly or Council, where all the Old Men and Chiefs of the Nation of the Bear met to deliberate on their great feast of the dead, I took occasion to show them the letters of these Gentlemen, and asked them to decide, after careful delib-

esté dit, afin que nous assistassions au Conseil des Hurons, & sçeuissions nous preualoir de ce qu'ils auoient fait. Conformement à cela au mois d'Auril dernier ayant esté inuité à vne Assemblée ou Conseil, où estoient tous les Anciens & les Chefs de la Nation des Ours, pour deliberer sur leur grande feste des morts, ie pris l'occasion de leur representer la lettre de ces Messieurs, & demander qu'ils deliberaissent meurement ce qu'ils desiroient y respondre. Je leur dis que tous les hommes ayant l'ame immortelle alloient finalement apres ceste vie en l'un de ces deux lieux, sçauoir en Paradis ou en Enfer, & ce pour vn iamaïs: mais que ces lieux estoient grandement differents, car le Paradis estoit vn lieu remply de toutes fortes de biens, & exempt de toutes fortes de maux; & l'Enfer estoit vn estat destitué de tout bien, & remply de toutes fortes de maux, que c'estoit vne fournaise tres-ardente au milieu de laquelle les damnez feroient à iamaïs tourmentez & brulez sans estre consommez, [18] qu'ils auissent maintenant auquel de ces deux lieux ils desiroient vn iour aller pour vn iamaïs, & ce pendant qu'ils estoient encor en vie; car pour tous les defunts pour qui ils auoient fait, & alloient faire la feste, que c'estoit vne affaire decidee, que tous ayât ignoré Dieu, & outrepassé ses cōmandemens, auoient fuiuy le chemin de l'Enfer, où ils estoient maintenant tourmentez de supplices qui ne se peuuent imaginer, & qu'il n'y auoit plus de remede. Que pour eux s'ils vouloient aller au Ciel nous leur enseignerions le chemin; & pour autant que toutes les affaires d'importans se font icy par presens, & que la Pourcelaine qui tient lieu d'or & d'argent en ce Pays, est toute puissante, ie presentay en ceste Assemblée vn collier de douze cens grains de Pourcelaine, leur disant, que c'estoit-

eration, what they wished to answer thereto. I told them that every man, as possessing an immortal soul, would at last, after this life, go to one or the other of two places, Paradise or Hell, and that forever; but that these places were widely different, since Paradise is a place abounding in blessings of all kinds, and free from all manner of ills; Hell, a place where no blessing comes, and where ills of all kinds abound; that it is a fiery furnace, in the midst of which the damned would be forever tormented, and burned without ever being consumed; [18] that they must now consider to which of these two places they preferred to go some day, forever, and to do this while they were still in this life, because the matter was decided so far as it concerned all the dead for whom they had made or were going to make feasts; that all those who had slighted God and broken his commandments had followed the path to Hell, where they now were tormented by punishments that could not be imagined, and for which there was no remedy. I told them that, if they wished to go to Heaven, we would teach them the way; and, inasmuch as all affairs of importance are managed here by presents, and as the Porcelain that takes the place of gold and silver in this Country is all-powerful, I presented in this Assembly a collar of twelve hundred beads of Porcelain, telling them that it was given to smooth the difficulties of the road to Paradise. It is customary to employ such terms, when they make presents to succeed in some difficult enterprise. Then all, in turn expressing their opinions, said that they dreaded these glowing fires of Hell, and that they preferred the road to Heaven. There was, nevertheless, one who—either seriously, or more probably [19] in

là pour applanir les difficultez du chemin de Paradis; ce font les termes dont ils ont coustume de se servir quand ils font quelques presens pour venir à bout de quelque difficile entreprise. Alors tous opinans à leur tour, dirent qu'ils redoutoient ces feux ardens de l'Enfer, & qu'ils aymoient mieux prendre le chemin du Ciel: il y en eut neãtmoins vn lequel ou serieulement, ou plutoſt [19] en gauffant dit, que cela alloit bien que tous voulussent aller au Ciel, & estre bien-heureux, pour luy qu'il n'importoit pas quand il feroit brulé dedans l'Enfer. Je repartis que Dieu nous donnoit à tous l'option de l'vn & de l'autre, mais qu'il ne ſçauoit pas quel estoit le feu d'Enfer, & que j'esperois qu'il changeroit de resolution quand il en feroit mieux informé.

Voila la disposition qu'ont les Hurons, & notamment la Nation des Ours à recevoir le Christianisme, à quoy servira grandement que nous auons desia baptisé beaucoup d'enfans; car, disent-ils, nous ne voulons pas abandonner nos enfans, nous desirons aller au Ciel avec eux. Tu peux iuger, disent ils, combien nous agreons tes discours, puis que nous-nous y trouuons volontiers, & sans mot dire, & que nous permettons que nos enfans soient baptisez. Il ne faut pas que ie m'oublie à ceste occasion de tesmoigner la satisfaction que nous donne Louys de sainte Foy; il est vray qu'il nous a autant edifiez & contentez dans le deuoir de Chrestien, qu'il y auoit manqué par le passé. A ce mois de Septembre il eut vn desir de retourner pour hyuerner chez nous à Kébec, afin d'y rapprendre paisiblement [20] les bons enseignemens qu'il auoit eu autrefois de nos Peres en France, & se remettre parfaitement dans le train de la vertu & pieté Chrestienne. Nous approuuons fort ce dessein,

jest — said it was very fine that all should wish to go to Heaven, and be happy; but that, as far as he was concerned, it did not matter even if he should be burned in Hell. I replied that God gave us all the choice of the one or the other; that he did not know what Hell fire was, and that I hoped he would change his mind when he was better informed.

You see the inclination of the Hurons, and especially of the Nation of the Bear, to receive Christianity; and this will be greatly increased by the fact that we have already baptized many of their children. For they say, "We do not wish to be separated from our children, we desire to go to Heaven with them. You can judge," they say, "how much we approve your talk, seeing we willingly listen to it, without contradiction, and permit you to baptize our children." I must not forget to express on this occasion the satisfaction which Louys de sainte Foy gives us; he certainly performs his duties as a Christian as much to our edification and pleasure as formerly he failed therein. In this month of September he had a desire to return to our house at Kébec for the winter, in order to resume quietly [20] the good instructions he had had formerly from our Fathers in France, and to devote himself again to the practice of virtue and Christian piety. We strongly approved this design, the more so as he could have taken with him some young relative who might have been instructed and baptized there; but as some difficulty came in the way of his resolution, he concluded that he would pass a good part of the Winter with us. This he has done with much satisfaction and profit, both to himself and to us; for he has resumed attendance upon the Sacraments, and the habit of

veu mefmemment qu'il eult mené avec luy quelque ieune homme de fes parens, qui eult pû efre instruit & baptisé là bas: mais quelque difficulté ayant tra-uerté ceste refolution, il fe delibera de paffer vne bonne partie de l'Hyuer avec nous, ce qu'il a fait avec beaucoup de contentement & de profit, tât de fon costé que du nostre; car il s'est remis dans la hantife des Sacremens, & dans l'vfage de la priere. A Noël il fit vne fort bonne Confession generale depuis son Baptefme: d'autre part en nos Catechifmes & instructions que nous faisons aux Sauuages il nous seruoit de Truchement, & nous a traduit plusieurs chofes en langue Huronne, où nous admirions la facilité qu'il auoit à entendre nostre langue, & à comprendre & expliquer les myfteres les plus difficiles. Bref il tefmoigne que veritablement il a la crainte de Dieu.

Pour conclusion de ce chapitre nous eſperons vous renuoyer les Peres Antoine Daniel, & Ambroife Dauot avec vne bande de braues petits Hurons, afin de donner [21] commencement au Seminaire, duquel on peut eſperer avec raifon de grands fruits pour la conuerſion de ces Peuples. Que s'il y auoit à Kébec des Religieufes, ie croy qu'on vous pourroit auffi enuoyer de petites Seminariftes, il y a icy quantité de braues petites filles, leſquelles ſi elles eſtoient bien eſleuees ne cederoient en rien à nostre ieuneſſe François. Ce nous eſt vn grand creue-cœur de voir ces petites innocentes ſoiïiller incontinent la pureté de leur corps & beauté de leur ame faute de bon exemple & bonne instruction; ie ne doute nullement que la diuine Bonté ne comble de grands biens, particulierement ceux qu'elle inſpirera de contribuer à la fondation de ces Seminaires, & à l'education de ces petites plantes de ceste Eglife naiſſante.

prayer. At Christmas he made a very good general Confession for the period since his Baptism. Besides, in our Catechizing and teaching of the Savages, he served as Interpreter, and has translated several things into the Huron language for us, where-in we admired the facility with which he understood our language, and comprehended and explained the most difficult mysteries. In short, he gives evidence that truly he has the fear of God before his eyes.

To conclude this chapter, we hope to send you Fathers Antoine Daniel and Ambroise Davot with a band of honest little Hurons, to make [21] a beginning for the Seminary, from which we can reasonably expect much fruit in the conversion of these Peoples. If there were Nuns at Kébec, I believe we might be able to send also girls for a Seminary. There are here a number of fine little girls, who, if they were well brought up, would not yield in any respect to our young French girls. It makes our hearts ache to see these innocent young girls so soon defile their purity of body and beauty of soul, for lack of a good example and good instruction. I doubt not at all that the divine Goodness will crown with great blessings those in particular whom he inspires to contribute to the foundation of these Seminaries, and to the education of these young plants of this infant Church.



CHAPITRE II.

CONTENANT SELON L'ORDRE DES TEMPS LES AUTRES CHOSSES REMARQUABLES ADUENUËS PENDANT CESTE ANNÉE.

LA premiere chose est la fecheresse de l'Esté passé laquelle a esté fort vniuerselle [22] en tous ces Pays, autant que i'ay peu appréhendre tant des lettres de Kébec, comme de diuers Sauvages reuenans des traittes loingtains, tout estoit si sec & si aride qu'à la moindre étincelle de feu les forests & les campagnes estoient incontinent embrasées: d'où arriua que plusieurs Sauvages allans par pays, & n'estans pas sur leur garde eurent leurs Cabanes & viures bruslez, comme aussi deux de nos hommes. Mais pour ne parler que du Pays des Hurons, la fecheresse y fut tres-grande, car depuis Pasques iusques à la my-Iuin il ne pleut point, ou fort peu; rien ne profitoit, tout deperissoit, de sorte qu'on apprehendoit une grand famine, & à bon droit; car tout le terroir des Hurons & des lieux circonuoisins estans tout fablonneux, s'il est trois iours sans estre arroufé des pluies du Ciel, tout commence à faner & à baïsser la teste. Dans ces apprehensions tout le Pays estoit en alarme de la famine, veu mesmement que le Printemps passé trois villages auoiēt esté bruslez, qui sans cet accident eussent pû seruir dans la necessité de greniers à tout le Pays. Tous crioient à l'ayde, & imploroient à leur ordinaire le secours des Sorciers ou

CHAPTER II.

CONTAINING IN THE ORDER OF TIME THE OTHER
REMARKABLE THINGS THAT HAPPENED
DURING THIS YEAR.

FIRST, I notice the dryness of the past Summer, which has been very general [22] throughout these Regions, so far as I can learn from Kébec letters, and from Savages returning from distant trading expeditions; everything was so dry and so arid that at the least spark of fire the forests and fields were at once in a blaze. Thus it happened that many Savages, going about the country and not being on their guard, had their Cabins and provisions burned, as did also two of our men. But to speak only of the Huron Country,—the drought was very great, for from Easter until the middle of June there was no rain at all, or very little. Nothing was growing, everything was dying, so that we apprehended a serious famine, and rightly; for, the soil of the Huron country and adjacent regions being sandy, if three days pass without its being watered with rain from Heaven, everything begins to fade and hang its head. Filled with these apprehensions, the whole Country was dreading a famine, especially as last Spring three villages had been burned which, but for this accident, might have served in case of necessity as granaries to the whole Country. All were crying for help, and imploring, according to their custom, the help of the Sorcerers, or *Arendiowane*,

Arendio8ane, qui se font icy adorer, [23] promettans qu'ils destourneroit les malheurs dont le Ciel les menace. Ces abuseurs firent ioïer tous les refforts que les songes, & leur ceruelle creuse leur peut suggerer, afin de faire pleuvoir, mais en vain, le Ciel estoit d'airain à leurs fottifes. Il y eut vn de ces Sorciers nommé *Tehorenhaegnon* plus fameux que les autres, qui promist merueilles, pourueu que tout le Pays luy fist vn present de la valeur de dix haches, sans conter vne infinité de festins: mais ces efforts furent en vain, il auoit beau songer, festiner & danfer, il n'en tomboit pas vne goutte d'eau, de sorte qu'il cōfessoit qu'il n'en pouuoit venir à bout, & affeuroit que les bleds ne meuriroient point; mais le mal estoit pour nous, ou plutoit le bon-heur, qu'il disoit qu'il estoit empesché de faire pleuvoir par vne Croix qui est vis à vis de nostre porte, & que la maison des François estoit vne maison de demons, ou de gens méfaisans qui estoient venus en leur Pays afin de les faire mourir. Quelques-vns encheriffans là dessus disoient que parauanture nous auions des ressentimens de la mort d'Eftienne Brulé, & que nous voulions tirer vengeance de tout le Pays pour la mort d'une seule personne. [24] D'autres adioustoient que les Algonquins leur auoient dit que les François ne venoient icy que pour les faire mourir, & que d'eux estoit prouenuë la contagion de l'année passée. En fuite de ces discours on nous disoit que nous abatissions la Croix, & que si les bleds ne meurissoient pas, on nous pourroit bien affommer ainsi comme on fait icy les Sorciers, & autres gens pernicieux. Quelques-vns, à nostre grand regret & creue-cœur, disoient qu'ils abbattroient la Croix, & vinrent iusques à ce point, que des ieunes gens en ayants fait vne autre, & l'ayans plantée sur

who are here held in reverence, [23] because they promise to turn aside the misfortunes with which Heaven threatens them. These deceivers played all the tricks that dreams and their own empty heads could suggest to them, in order to bring rain, but in vain, the Heavens were as brass to their foolishness. There was one of these Sorcerers named *Tehorenhacgon*, more famous than the others, who promised marvels, provided the whole Country made him a present of the value of ten hatchets, not to speak of a multitude of feasts; but these efforts were in vain,—dreaming, feasting, dancing, were all to no purpose, there fell not a drop of water; so that he had to confess that he could not succeed, and he declared that the crops would not ripen; but unfortunately, or rather fortunately for us, he said that he was hindered from making it rain by a Cross which is before our door, and that the house of the French was a house of demons, or of ill-disposed people who had come into their Country in order to make them die. Some thereupon, trying to outdo him, said perhaps we cherished resentment for the death of Estienne Bruslé and that we wished to draw down vengeance upon the whole Country for the death of a single person. [24] Others added that the Algonquins had told them that the French came here only to compass their death, and that from them had come the contagion of last year. In consequence of these statements we were told that we must take down our Cross; and that, if the crops should not mature, they might beat us to death as they do the Sorcerers and other pernicious people here. Some, to our great regret and sorrow, said that they would pull down the Cross; and it even went so far that some young

le faiste d'une Cabane, se mirent à tirer à l'encontre, comme au blanc, avec leurs arcs & leurs fleches; mais nostre Seigneur ne permist pas qu'ils la frappassent d'un seul coup. D'autres estoient d'autant plus méchans qu'ils estoient desia mieux informez de la cognoissance d'un Dieu Createur & Gouverneur de toutes choses, car ils accusoient sa Bonté & Prouidence avec d'horribles blasphemes. Il eust fallu estre de bronze pour n'estre pas irrité de ces insolences. Ce qui nous touchoit davantage estoit la misere de ce pauvre Peuple, son aveuglement, & sur tout l'iniure qu'on faisoit [25] à Dieu le quittant pour des Sorciers: car pour la mort ie croy que tous eussent esté tres aises de la subir pour la defense de la Croix. Nous assemblames donc en nostre Cabane les hommes & les femmes de nostre village, attendu particulierement qu'eux seuls n'auoient point eu recours aux Sorciers, ains nous demandoiët continuellement que nous fissions pleuvoir. Ils ont ceste pensee que rien ne nous est impossible: Je leur dis que ny nous, ny aucun homme ne dispoit de la pluye, ou du beau temps; que celui qui a fait le Ciel & la terre en estoit seul le maistre, & la distribuoit selon son bon plaisir; que c'estoit à luy à qui il falloit auoir recours; que la Croix que nous auions plantee n'empeschoit point la pluye, veu que depuis que nous l'auions erigee il auoit pleu & tonné par plusieurs fois; mais que parauanture Dieu estoit fâché de ce qu'ils en parloient mal, & de ce qu'ils recouroient à de méchans *Arendioſane*, lesquels ou n'auoient point de pouuoir, ou bien peut-estre causoient eux-mêmes les secheresses par les hantises & pacts qu'ils auoient avec le diable; & qu'au reste tout ce qu'ils en faisoient n'estoit que pour auoir des presens; que s'ils y pouuoient [26]

people, having made another and having placed it on the ridge of a Cabin, began to shoot at it as at a target with their bows and arrows, but our Lord did not permit them to hit it even once. Others were much more wicked, since they were more fully acquainted with the knowledge of the one God, Creator and Governor of all things, for they accused his Goodness and Providence with horrid blasphemies. One would have to be of bronze not to be irritated by such insolence. What touched us most keenly was the misery of these poor People, their blindness, and above all the offense they committed [25] against God by forsaking him for the Sorcerers. As to death, I believe that all of us would have been very glad to submit to it for the defense of the Cross. We therefore assembled in our Cabin the men and women of our village, especially because they alone had not resorted to the Sorcerers, but had always asked us to make it rain. They believe that nothing is impossible for us. I told them that neither we nor any man could bring rain or fine weather; that he who made Heaven and earth alone was master of them, and distributed them according to his good pleasure; that recourse must be had only to him; that the Cross we had planted had not hindered the rain, as it had often rained and thundered since we had erected it; but that perhaps God was angry because they had spoken ill of him and had had recourse to wicked *Arendiowane*, who either had no power, or, indeed, perhaps had themselves caused the drought by their intercourse and pacts with the devil; that, besides, everything they did was only to get presents, and that, if they could do [26] anything, they should make rain. Consequently, if they would obtain what

quelque chose, qu'ils fissent dōc plouuoir. Partant que s'ils vouloient obtenir ce qu'ils desiroient, ie leur dis qu'ils s'adreffassent à celui qui a tout fait, & qui est seul Auteur de tous biens, duquel nous leur auions tant parlé, & que nous leur enseignerions la façon de le prier. Ceste Nation est fort docile, & sous la consideration des biens temporels vous les flechifiez où vous voulez. Ils me respondirent tous, qu'ils n'adioustoient point foy à leurs deuins, & que c'estoient des abuseurs, qu'ils ne vouloient point d'autre Dieu que celui que nous leur enseignions, & qu'ils feroient ce que nous leur dirions. Je leur dis donc qu'ils deuoient detester leurs pechez, & se refoudre à bon escient à seruir ce Dieu que nous leur annoncions, & que d'oresnauant nous ferions tous les iours vne Procession pour implorer son ayde, que c'estoit ainsi que faisoient tous les Chrestiens; qu'ils fussent constans & perseuerans, ne perdant pas courage s'ils n'estoient incontinent exaucez; nous adioustafmes à cela vn vœu de neuf Messes en l'honneur du glorieux Espoux de nostre Dame Protecteur des Hurons; nous exposafmes aussi le S. Sacremēt à l'occasion de sa Feste qui arriua en ce temps-là.

[27] Or il auint iustement que la neufuaine estât accomplie, qui fut le treiziesme Iuin, nous ne peufmes paracheuer la Procession sans pluye, qui suiuit fort abondante, & dura à diuerfes reprises l'espace de plus d'un mois avec vn grand amandement & accroissement des fruicts de la terre, & d'autant que, comme j'ay dit, ces terres fablonneuses demanderoient quasi des pluies de deux iours l'un, vne autre sechereffe estant suruenüe depuis la my-Iuillet iusques à la fin du mois, nous entreprismes vne autre neufuaine en l'honneur de nostre B. Pere S. Ignace, par les prieres duquel

they desired, I urged them to address him who made everything, and who alone is the Author of all blessings, of whom we had so often spoken to them, and to whom we would teach them to pray. This Nation is very docile, and when influenced by temporal considerations it can be bent as one pleases. They all replied that they put no faith in their soothsayers, and that they were deceivers; that they wished no other God than him whom we taught to them, and that they would do what we told them. I then told them that they must hate their sins, and resolve in earnest to serve that God whom we announced to them; that henceforth we would every day make a Procession to implore his help, that all Christians did this; that they should be constant and persevering, not losing courage if they were not immediately heard. We added to this a vow of nine Masses in honor of the glorious Spouse of our Lady, the Protector of the Hurons. We exposed also the Blessed Sacrament on the occasion of its Feast, which happened at that time.

[27] Now it happened that, exactly as the novena was completed, which was on the thirteenth of June, we could not finish the Procession on account of the rain, which followed very abundantly and lasted, with several intervals, the space of a month, with a great improvement and growth of the fruits of the earth; and because, as I have said, these sandy soils need rain almost every other day, another drought having occurred from the middle of July until the last of the month, we undertook another novena in honor of our Blessed Father St. Ignatius, through whose prayers we had, from the day after this novena began and since, such an abundance of rain that

nous eufmes dès le lendemain de la neufuaine commencée, & du depuis, telle abondance de pluyes qu'elles firent parfaitement espier les bleds, & les amenerent à maturité, de forte qu'il y a eu ceste année autant de bled que de long temps.

Or ces pluyes ont fait deux biens; l'un en ce qu'elles ont accru les fruicts de la terre, & l'autre en ce qu'elles ont étouffé toutes les mauuaifes opinions & volonteز conçeuës contre Dieu, contre la Croix, & contre nous; car tous les Sauuages de nostre cognoissance, & notamment de nostre village, font venus expressément nous trouuer [28] pour nous dire qu'en effet Dieu estoit bon, & que nous estions aussi bons, & qu'à l'auenir ils vouloient seruir Dieu, adioustant mille pouilles à l'encontre de leurs *Arendio8ane*, ou deuins. A Dieu soit pour iamais la gloire de tout; il permet la fechereffe des terres, pour arrouser les cœurs de ses benedictions.

L'année 1628. que les Anglois desirent [desirent] la flotte de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, dont la perte a esté la damnation de plusieurs Canadois, & le retardement de la conuerfion de quelques autres, cōme il est à croire, il m'arriua en ce pays vne histoire quasi pareille à la precedente, laquelle à raisō de la conformité ie pense estre bō de raconter icy. La fechereffe estoit extraordinaire par tout, mais singulièrement en nostre village, & aux enuirs. Cettes [certes] ie m'estonnois de voir quelquesfois l'air tout chargé de nuées ailleurs, & ouyr bruire les tonnerres & au contraire en nos quartiers le Ciel y estre tres pur, tres ferain, & très ardent. Il sembloit mesme que les nuées se diuifoient à l'abord de nostre contrée; Ce mesme suppost du diable, que i'ay nommé cy-deuant *Tehorenhaggnon*, estant prié de faire plouuoir,

it caused the corn to form perfect ears, and ripened them; so that there was this year as much corn as there has been for a long time.

Now these rains have produced two good results: one in that they have increased the fruits of the earth; the other that they stifled those false opinions and notions conceived against God, against the Cross, and against ourselves. For all the Savages that knew us, and especially those of our village, came expressly to see us, [28] to tell us that God was in truth good, and that we also were good; and that in the future they would serve God, adding a thousand abusive words in reference to all their *Arendiowane*, or soothsayers. To God be forever the glory of the whole; he permits the drought of the soil, to bedew all hearts with his blessings.

In the year 1628, when the English defeated the fleet of the Company of New France,²—whose loss was the damnation of many Canadians and the postponement of the conversion of many others, as may be believed,—there happened to me in this country an incident almost the same as the preceding, which, by reason of its likeness to it, seems to me worth relating here. The drought was very great everywhere, but particularly so in our village and its neighborhood. I was indeed astonished, sometimes, to see the air heavily laden with clouds elsewhere, and to hear the thunders roaring; while in our neighborhood, on the contrary, the Sky was clear, very bright and very hot. It seemed even that the clouds separated as they approached our region. That same tool of the devil that I have mentioned before, *Tehorenhacgnon*, having been entreated to make rain, replied that he could not [29] make it; and that the

respondit qu'il ne le pouuoit [29] pas faire, & que le tonnerre qu'ils feignent estre vn oyseau, auoir peur de la Croix qui estoit deuant la maison des François, & que ceste couleur rouge dont elle estoit peinte, estoit comme vn feu ardent & flamboyant qui diuifoit les nuées en deux, quand elles venoient à passer par dessus.

Les Capitaines du village ayant entendu ces nouvelles me firent appeller, & me dirent; Mon nepueu, voila ce que dit vn tel, que responds-tu à cela? nous sommes perdus, car les bleds ne mouriront point. Si au moins nous mourrions par la main & les armes de nos ennemis, qui font prests de venir fondre sur nous, encor à la bonne heure, nous ne languirions pas, mais si estans eschapez de leur fureur, nous tombons dās la famine, c'est aller de mal en pis, qu'en pense-tu? tu ne voudrois pas estre cause de nostre mort? & puis il t'importe autant qu'à nous: nous ferions d'auis que tu abbatisse ceste Croix, & que tu la cachasse pour vn temps ou dedans ta Cabane, ou bien dans le lac, afin que le tonnerre & les nuées ne la voyent plus, & qu'ils n'en ayent plus de peur, & puis apres la moisson tu la replanteras. A cela ie respondis, Pour moy iamais ie n'abbattray, ny ne cacheray la Croix [30] où est mort celuy qui est la cause de tous nos biens. Pour vous si vous la voulez abbatre, auifez-y ie ne pourray pas vous en empescher, mais prenez garde qu'en l'abbatant vous n'irritiez Dieu, & que vous n'accroissiez vostre misere. Croyez-vous à cet abuser; il ne sçait ce qu'il dit, il y a plus d'un an que ceste Croix a esté plantée voyez combien de fois il a pleu icy du depuis: c'est vn ignorant de dire que le tonnerre craint; ce n'est pas vn animal, mais vne exhalaison seiche & embrasée, qui estant

thunder, which they pretend is a bird, was afraid of the Cross that was in front of the Frenchmen's house, and that the red color with which it was painted was like a fire burning and flaming, which divided the clouds in two when they passed above it.³

The Captains of the village, having heard these stories, sent for me and said, "My nephew, here is what so-and-so says; what dost thou answer to it? We are ruined, for the corn will not ripen. If at least we should die by the hands and arms of our enemies who are ready to burst upon us, well and good,—we should not at any rate pine away; but if, having escaped from their fury, we are exposed to famine, that would be to go from bad to worse. What dost thou think of it? Thou dost not wish to be the cause of our death? besides, it is of as much importance to thee as to us. We are of the opinion that thou shouldst take down that Cross, and hide it awhile in thy Cabin, or even in the lake, so that the thunder and the clouds may not see it, and no longer fear it; and then after the harvest thou mayest set it up again." To this I answered, "As for me, I shall never take down nor hide the Cross [30] where died he who is the cause of all our blessings. For yourselves, if you wish to take it down, consider the matter well; I shall not be able to hinder you, but take care that, in taking it down, you do not make God angry and increase your own misery. Do you believe in this deceiver? He does not know what he says. This Cross has been set up for more than a year, and you know how many times there has been rain here since. Only an ignorant person would say that the thunder is afraid; it is not an animal, it is a dry and burning exhalation which, being shut in,

enfermée court ça & là pour fortir; & puis que craint le tonnerre? ceste couleur rouge de la Croix? ostez donc aussi vous mesmes toutes ces figures & peintures rouges qui sont sur vos Cabanes. A cela ils ne sçavoient que me repartir, ils s'entre-regardoient, & disoient, il dit vray, il se faut bien garder de toucher à ceste Croix; & cependant, adioustoient-ils, *Tehorenhægnon* dit cela. Il me vint vne pensée, Puis, disie, que *Tehorenhægnon* dit que le tonnerre apprehende ceste couleur de la Croix, si vous voulez nous la peindrons d'une autre couleur, de blanc ou de noir, ou en quelqu'autre façon; & si incontinent apres il vient à plouuoir, vous croirez que *Tehorenhægnon* a [31] dit vray, sinon que c'est vn imposteur. C'est fort bien aisé, dirent-ils, ainsi le faut-il faire. On peint donc la Croix de blanc, mais vn, deux, trois & quatre iours se passent qu'il ne plouuoit non plus qu'auparauant; & cependant tous ceux qui voyoient la Croix se fachoient contre ce Sorcier, qui auoit esté la cause de la défigurer de la sorte: Sur cela i'allay trouuer les Anciens; Et bien a-il pleu dauantage qu'auparauant? Estes vous contents? Ouy, dirent-ils, nous voyõs bien que *Tehorenhægnon* n'est qu'un abuseur: mais dis nous toy, qu'est-ce que nous ferons, & nous t'obeyrons. Alors nostre Seigneur m'inspira de les instruire du mystere de la Croix, & de l'honneur que par tout on luy rendoit, & de leur dire que i'estois d'auis qu'ils vinssent tous en corps, hommes & femmes adorer la Croix, pour reparer l'honneur d'icelle: & d'autant qu'il s'agissoit de faire croistre les bleds, qu'ils apportassent chacun vn plat de bled pour en faire offrande à nostre Seigneur, & que ce qu'ils donneroient fust puis apres distribué aux pauvres du village. L'heure est donnée au lendemain; Ils ne l'at-

seeks to get out this way and that. And then what does the thunder fear? This red color of the Cross? Take away then, yourselves, all those red figures and paintings that are on your Cabins." To this they did not know what to reply; they looked at each other and said, "It is true, we must not touch this Cross; and yet," added they, "*Tehorenhægnon* says so." A thought came to me. "Since," said I, "*Tehorenhægnon* says that the thunder is afraid of this color of the Cross, if you like we will paint it another color, white, or black, or any other; and if, immediately after, it begins to rain, you will be sure *Tehorenhægnon* has [31] told the truth; but if not, that he is an impostor." "Well said," they replied, "we will do that." The Cross was therefore painted white, but one, two, three, four days passed without any more rain than before; and meanwhile all who saw the Cross became angry at the Sorcerer who had been the cause of disfiguring it thus. Thereupon I went to see the Old Men. "Well, has it rained any more than before? Are you satisfied?" "Yes," said they, "we see clearly enough that *Tehorenhægnon* is only a deceiver; but now, do thou tell us what to do, and we will obey thee." Then our Lord inspired me to instruct them in the mystery of the Cross, and speak to them of the honor that was everywhere rendered to it; and to tell them that it was my opinion that they should all come in a body, men and women, to adore the Cross in order to restore its honor; and, inasmuch as it was a matter of causing the crops to grow, they should each bring a dish of corn to make an offering to our Lord, and that what they gave should afterwards be distributed to the poor of the village. The hour is appointed for the morrow;

tendent pas, mais la preuiennent: nous entourons la Croix repeinte de ses premiers couleurs, [32] sur laquelle i'auois mis vn Crucifix; Nous faisons quelque priere, puis i'adoray & baifay la Croix pour leur monstrier comme ils deuoient faire, ils me fuiurent les vns apres les autres apostrophants nostre Seigneur crucifié par des prieres que la Rhetorique naturelle, & la neccessité du temps leur suggereroit. Certes leur feruente simplicité me donnoit de la deuotion; bref ils firent si bien que dès la mesme iournée Dieu leur donna de la pluye, & enfin vne tres-heureuse recolte, avec vne tres-grande admiration de la Puissance diuine.

Pour conclusion de ces deux hystoires, ie diray que ces Peuples font grands admirateurs, & font estat des personnes qui ont quelque chose de releué par dessus le commun; à ceste occasion ils les appellent, *oki* du mesme nom qu'ils donnent aux demōs: Partant s'il y auoit icy quelqu'un doué du don de miracles, ainsi qu'estoient les premiers qui ont annoncé l'Euangile au monde, il conuertiroit à mon aduis sans difficulté, tous ces Barbares; mais Dieu depart telles faueurs, quand, à qui, & comment il luy plaist, & parauanture veut-il que nous attêdions la recolte des ames avec patience & perseuerance. Aussi certes ne se portent-ils [33] encore à leur deuoir que par vn respect temporel, sur lequel on pourroit bien leur faire ce reproche de l'Euangile; *Amen, amen dico vobis, quæritis me, non quia vidistis signa, sed quia manducastis ex panibus, & saturati estis.*

Nous auons eu ceste année deux alarmes, dont enfin, Dieu mercy, il ne nous est resté que la peur; ç'a esté sur l'apprehension des ennemis. La premiere, qui auoit quelque apparence, fut l'Esté passé, & dura

they do not wait for it, they anticipate it. We surround the Cross, painted anew in its first colors, [32] upon which I had placed the body of our Lord crucified; we recite some prayers; and then I adored and kissed the Cross, to show them how they ought to do it. They imitated me one after the other, apostrophizing our crucified Savior in prayers which natural Rhetoric and the exigency of the time suggested to them. In truth, their fervent simplicity inspired me with devotion; briefly, they did so well that on the same day God gave them rain, and in the end a plentiful harvest, as well as a profound admiration for the divine Power.

In concluding these two accounts, I shall say that these Peoples admire and esteem highly those persons who have anything that elevates them above the crowd. Such persons they call *oki*, the same name as they give to demons; consequently, if there were any one here endowed with the gift of miracles, as were those who first announced the Gospel to the world, he would, in my opinion, convert all these Barbarians without difficulty. But God dispenses such favors when, how, and to whom he pleases; and perhaps he wishes us to wait for the harvest of souls with patience and perseverance. Besides, certainly, they are inclined [33] as yet to their duty only by temporal considerations, so that we may well apply to them the reproach of the Gospel: *Amen, amen dico vobis, quæritis me, non quia vidistis signa, sed quia manducastis ex panibus, et saturati estis.*

We have had this year two alarms, which resulted, thank God, in nothing worse than the fear aroused by the apprehension of enemies. The first, for which there were some grounds, occurred last Sum-

tout le mois de Juin; c'est vn des temps des plus propres à semblables espouuantes, d'autant que pour lors le Pays est desnüé des hommes, qui vont en traitte qui d'un costé, qui d'un autre. L'autre a esté cet Hyuer, & s'est trouuée fausse; en l'une & en l'autre on la nous donnoit bien verte assez souuent, tant de iour que de nuict; les femmes & les enfans commençoient à plier bagage sur le rapport des crieurs; ce font icy nos espions. La fuite est aucunement tolerable en Esté, car on se peut échaper en quelque Isle, ou cacher dans l'obscurité de quelque épaisse forest; mais en Hyuer quand les glaces ferment de pont pour aller fureter les Isles, & que la cheute des feuilles a éclaircy les forests, vous ne scauriez [34] où vous retirer, puis on descouure incontinent les vestiges sur la neige; ioinct qu'il fait bien froid en Hyuer pour coucher long temps à l'enseigne de la Lune. Il y a quelques villages assez bien fortifiés, où on pourroit demeurer, & attendre le siege & l'affaut, ceux qui peuuent s'y retirent, les autres gagnent au pied, ce qui est le plus ordinaire; car le petit nombre d'hommes, le manquement d'armes, le grand nombre d'ennemis, leur font redouter la foiblesse de leurs forts, il n'y a que les vieilles gens qui pour ne pouuoir aller attendent de pied quoy la mort dans leurs Cabanes. Voilà où nous en sommes d'ordinaire. Cet Hyuer nous fumes sur le point de fuyr, mais où cacher nos petites commoditez? car les Hurons en font aussi frians que les Iroquois. D'ailleurs neantmoins ces espouuantes n'ont pas esté inutiles; car outre les prieres & les vœux que nous auons faits pour destourner les fleaux; outre le soin que chacun apportoit pour se disposer à la mort, ou à l'esclauage, & outre que de là nous prenions occasion

mer and lasted the whole month of June. It is one of the most fitting times for such fear, inasmuch as then the Country is stripped of the men, who have gone trading, some one way, some another. The other was this Winter, and turned out to be false; in both cases the alarm was quite often given very unexpectedly, sometimes by day, sometimes by night; the women and children began packing up their baggage on the report of the criers, who are our spies here. Flight is to some extent tolerable in Summer, for one can escape to an Island or hide in the obscurity of some dense forest; but in Winter, when ice serves as a bridge to enable the enemy to search the Islands, and when the fall of the leaves has laid bare the forest recesses, you do not know [34] where to hide; besides, the tracks on the snow are immediately discovered; and it is, moreover, extremely cold in Winter to sleep long at the sign of the Moon. There are some villages tolerably well fortified, where one might remain and await siege and assault; those who can, withdraw there; the others take to flight, which is most commonly done; for the small number of men, the lack of arms, the multitude of enemies, cause them to dread the weakness of their forts. Only a few old people, who are not able to go away, quietly await death in their Cabins. That is our usual condition. This Winter, we were on the point of fleeing; but where could we conceal our few belongings? for the Hurons are as fond of them as are the Iroquois. In other ways, however, these fears have not been useless, for besides the prayers and vows we made to turn aside the scourge, the pains each one took to prepare himself for death or slavery, and the opportunity we had to impress upon the

d'instruire les Sauvages du secours qu'ils doivent attendre de Dieu ; nous-nous sommes rendus aimables, recommandables, & utiles à tout le [35] Pays, tant en leur donnant des fers de fleches, comme en nous disposant de les aller secourir dans leurs forts selon nostre pouuoir. En effect nous auions quatre de nos François munis de bonnes arquebuses, qui estoient tous prests de courir au premier village où se fust donné l'affaut, & moy i'estois resolu de les aller accompagner pour les assister spirituellement, & pour prendre les autres occasions qui se fussent présentées d'auancer la gloire de Dieu. De là ie vous laisse à penser si nous auons besoin du secours d'en-haut, & que ceux qui vivent en repos & en assurance, le nous obtiennent par leurs prieres ; c'est ce que nous leur demandons humblement.

Les Hurons nous font demeurez fort affectionnez de la promptitude que nous leur auons monstree à les assister. Nous leur auons dit aussi que d'oresnauant ils fissent leurs forts quarrez, & tirassent leurs pieux en ligne droicte, & qu'au moyen de quatre petites tourelles aux quatre coings, quatre François pourroient facilement avec leurs arquebuses ou mousquets conseruer & defendre tout vn village. Ils ont fort gousté cet aduis, & ont desia commencé à le practiquer à la Rochelle, où il[s] fouhaittent [36] passionnement auoir des nostres. Dieu se fert de tout pour donner entrée aux porteurs de l'Euangile.

L'Esté est icy vne saison fort incommode pour instruire les Sauvages ; les traittes & les champs emmenent tout hommes, femmes & enfans, il ne demeure quasi personne dans les villages ; voicy comme nous passâmes le dernier.

En premier lieu nous-nous recueillîmes tous par

Savages the help they might expect from God,—we were able to win for ourselves the regard and esteem of the People, and to make ourselves useful to them, [35] as well by giving them iron arrow-heads as by arranging to assist them in their forts, according to our power. In fact, we had four of our Frenchmen furnished with good arquebuses, who were ready to hasten to the first village where an attack should be made; and I had resolved to accompany them, to assist them in spiritual matters, and to take advantage of any other occasions which might present themselves to advance the glory of God. From this I leave you to imagine whether or not we need help from on high; and may those who live in comfort and safety obtain it for us by their prayers, which we humbly ask from them.

The Hurons have remained very friendly to us, on account of the promptitude we showed in assisting them. We have told them also that henceforth they should make their forts square, and arrange their stakes in straight lines; and that, by means of four little towers at the four corners, four Frenchmen might easily with their arquebuses or muskets defend a whole village. They are greatly delighted with this advice, and have already begun to practice it at la Rochelle, where they eagerly desire [36] to have some of our Fathers. God employs all means to give an entrance to those who bear the Gospel.

Summer here is a very inconvenient season for instructing the Savages. Their trading expeditions and the farms take every one away, men, women, and children—almost no one remains in the villages. I will tell you how we spent last Summer.

In the first place, we all came together for the

les exercices spirituels à la façon de nostre Compagnie. Nous en auons d'autant plus besoin, que l'excellence de nos fonctions requiert plus d'vnion avec Dieu; & que nous sommes contraincts de viure continuellement dans le tracas; c'est ce qui nous fait fouuent recognoistre qu'il faut que ceux qui viennent icy y apportent vn bon fonds de vertu, s'ils veulēt y en cueillir les fruicts. Apres nos exercices nous fîmes vn memorial confus des mots que nous auons remarquez depuis nostre arriuée, & puis nous esbauchâmes vn Dictionnaire de la langue des Hurons, qui fera tres-profitable. On y verra les diuerſes significations, on y recognoistra ayſément la difference des mots par enſemble, qui ne conſiſte quelquesfois qu'en vne ſeule lettre, ou meſme [37] en vn accent. Finalement nous-nous occupâmes à reformer, ou plutoſt à ranger vne Grammaire. Je crains qu'il ne nous faille faire fouuent de ſemblables reformes, car tous les iours nous allons deſcourans de nouueaux ſecrets en ceſte ſcience; ce qui nous empeſche d'enuoyer rien à imprimer pour le preſent. Nous en ſçauons, graces à Dieu, tantost ſuffiſamment, tant pour entendre que pour eſtre entendus, mais non encor pour mettre au iour. C'eſt à la verité vne choſe bien laborieufe de vouloir comprendre de tous poincts vne langue eſtrangere, tres-abondante, & autant differente de nos langues Europeanes qu'eſt le Ciel de la terre, & ce ſans maiſtre & ſans liures. Je n'en dis pas dauantage, parce que i'en fais vn Chapitre plus bas. Nous y trauaillons tous avec ferueur; c'eſt vne de nos plus ordinaires occupations, il n'y en a point qui ne iargonne deſia, & ne ſe faſſe entendre, les Peres nouuellement venus auſſi bien que les anciens; i'eſpere en particulier que le P. Mercier y fera bientoſt maiſtre.

spiritual exercises, as is the custom of our Society. We had the more need of these exercises, as the high duties we are called upon to perform need more union with God, and because we are compelled to live in a continual bustle. For this reason we often acknowledge that those who come here should bring a good reserve fund of virtue, if they wish here to gather the fruits thereof. After our exercises we made a confused memorandum of the words we had learned since our arrival, and then we outlined a Dictionary of the Huron language which will be very profitable. In it will be seen the various meanings; one will easily recognize in it, when the words are grouped, their differences, which consist sometimes in only a single letter, or even [37] in an accent. Finally we busied ourselves in revising, or rather in arranging, a Grammar. I fear we shall often have to make similar revisions; for every day we discover new secrets in this science, which for the present hinders us from sending anything to be printed. We know now, thank God, sufficient to understand and to be understood, but not yet to publish. It is indeed an exceedingly laborious task to endeavor to understand in all points a foreign tongue, very abundant, and as different from our European languages as Heaven is from earth,—and that without master or books. I say no more about it here, as I shall write a Chapter about it, further on. We all work at it diligently; it is one of our most common occupations. There is not one of us who does not already talk a jargon, and make himself understood, the newly-arrived Fathers as well as the others. I trust that Father Mercier, in particular, will soon be master of it.

Le neufiesme d'Aouft arriua de Kébec vn de nos hommes, deux mois & douze iours apres son embarquement d'icy, Dieu [38] fçait avec quel contentement nous l'écoutâmes sur l'estat de tous les François de Kébec, & des trois Riuieres, que le bruit nous auoit dépeints comme tous morts de la contagion. Nous fûmes aussi tres-aises d'entendre l'heureuse arriuée des cinq vaisseaux de Messieurs de la Compagnie, commandez par Monsie[u]r le General du Pleffis Bochart, qu'on nous faisoit croire s'estre perdus dans les glaces. Nostre ioye fut vn peu rabatuë par la crainte qu'on auoit qu'il ne fust arriué quelque accident au Capitaine Bontan; mais on nous a releuez de ceste apprehension.

Le treiziesme du mois d'Aouft le P. Mercier arriua, & le P. Pijart le dix-sept, le P. Mercier s'estant tres-bien porté depuis la France, fut saisi d'une petite fièvre vn iour ou deux auant son arriuée aux Hurons, mais dès le lendemain qu'il fut arriué, il en fut quitte pour vne legere émotion, qui fut fuiuie d'une parfaite santé. C'est vne benediction du Ciel, ce semble, que ce nous est assez d'estre aux Hurons pour nous bien porter. Au reste tous les Peres ont esté fort doucement conduits, ils n'ont ny ramé, ny porté, sinon leurs petites hardes; mais plustost ont esté honorez, & portez [39] eux-mesmes aux endroits fascheux & difficiles: & partant qu'aucun n'apprehende les difficultez qu'il y a à monter icy, pour auoir leu nostre Relation de l'an passé; les commencemens sont tousiours difficiles, & puis les causes de nos peines estoient extraordinaires; & enfin ie croy que mes pechez qui demandoient cela pour moy, redonderent encor sur les autres; mais plaise à Dieu que nous ayons épuisé le calice des amertumes iusques à la derniere goutte; quoy que nul ne deuroit

On the ninth of August, one of our men arrived from Kébec two months and twelve days after departing hence. God [38] knows how glad we were to hear of the state of all the French at Kébec and the three Rivers, who report had declared were all dead of the plague. We were also very glad to hear of the happy arrival of five ships of the Gentlemen of the Company, commanded by Monsieur the General du Plessis Bochart, which we had been informed were lost in the ice. Our joy was somewhat lessened by the fear they had that some accident had befallen Captain Bontan; but we have been relieved of this apprehension.

On the thirteenth of the month of August, Father Mercier arrived, and Father Pijart on the seventeenth. Father Mercier, who had had good health all the way from France, was seized with a slight fever a day or two before his arrival among the Hurons; but the day after his arrival he was free from it, except for a slight disturbance, which was followed by perfect health. It is a blessing from Heaven, it seems, that as soon as we are in the Huron country we should have good health. For the rest, all the Fathers have been well treated on the way. They have neither paddled, nor carried burdens, except their little supply of clothing: but, on the contrary, have been honored and have been themselves carried [39] over troublesome and difficult places. Consequently let no one fear difficulties in coming up here, from having read my Relation of last year. Beginnings are always hard, and then the causes of our troubles were extraordinary; and, moreover, I believe that my sins, which required that I should suffer these things, fell also upon the others; but,

perdre courage quand les trauaux feroient toufiours égaux, noſtre Seigneur en a bien enduré dauantage pour le falut des ames. Noſtre petit bagage nous a eſté auſſi apporté tres-fidelement, & aſſez bien conſerué; vous ne ſçauriez croire le bien qu'ont fait les pois, le pain, & le ſagamité que vous diſtribuaſtes l'an paſſé à nos Hurons, & le bon viſage que vous leur monſtrâtes. Ce bon traictement vous a gagné, & nous auſſi, leurs cœurs; nous n'allons en aucun lieu qu'on ne nous diſe, que nos Freres de Kébec font tres courtois & tres liberaux: Toutes choſes nous diſpoſent ces Peuples à receuoir la ſemence de l'Euangile, car l'affectiō qu'ils nous portent leur rend croyable ce que nous leur diſons.

[40] Sur l'Eclypſe de Lune du vingt-ſeptieſme d'Aouſt, nos Barbares s'attendoient à vne grande défaite des leurs parce qu'elle parut ſur le Pays ennemy, qui eſt à leur égard au Su-eſt; car ſi elle paroïſt en Orient c'eſt à leur cōpte que la Lune eſt malade, ou qu'elle a receu quelque deſplaiſir; iuſques à nous inuiter, ie ne ſçay ſi c'eſtoit en riant, de tirer contre le Ciel, pour la deliurer du danger, nous aſſeurans que c'eſtoit leur couſtume d'y décocher pluſieurs fleches à cet effect. Il eſt vray qu'ils crient tous tant qu'ils peuvent en ces occaſions, & font des imprecaſions à leurs ennemis, diſans, que telle & telle Nation periſſe. I'eſtois pour lors en vn autre village, où demeueroit ce fameux Sorcier, dont i'ay deſia parlé, *Tehorenhacgnon*; il fit feſtin, ce dit-on, pour deſtourner les malheurs de ceſte Eclypſe.

Le vingtieſme Octobre mourut dans ſon infidelité vn vieillard de noſtre village, dont la fin eſtonna pluſieurs, & leur laiſſa de bons deſirs de ſe conuertir; il ſemble que noſtre Seigneur luy auoit communiqué

please God, we have drunk the cup of bitterness to its dregs. Yet no one should lose courage, even if our labors were always equally hard; for truly our Lord has endured more for the salvation of souls. Our scanty baggage was also faithfully brought, and in fairly good condition. You would scarcely believe the good done last year by the distribution you made to our Hurons of peas, bread, and sagamité, and by the kindly attentions you showed them. That good treatment has won their hearts for you and for us also. We do not go anywhere without hearing that our Brothers at Kébec are very courteous and liberal. Everything is leading these Peoples to receive the seed of the Gospel, for the affection they have for us renders them disposed to believe what we tell them.

[40] On the Eclipse of the Moon, of August twenty-seventh, our Barbarians expected a great defeat of their men, because it appeared over their enemies' Country, which is on their Southeast; for if it appears in the East, it is on their account that the Moon is sick, or has experienced some displeasure; they even invited us, perhaps in jest, to shoot at the Sky, to deliver it from danger, assuring us that it was their custom to discharge several arrows for this purpose. Indeed, they all cry out as loudly as they can on such occasions, and make imprecations against their enemies, saying, "May such and such a Nation perish." I was at that time in another village, where was living the famous Sorcerer of whom I have already spoken, *Tehorenhaegnon*; he made a feast, I was told, to turn aside the unluckiness of this Eclipse.

On the twentieth of October, an old man of our vil-

depuis vn an plusieurs bons mouuements, il affiſtoit volontiers à toutes nos Affemblées, eſcoutant nos inſtructions; c'eſtoit le premier à faire le ſigne de la Croix: [41] mais apres il taſchoit d'accorder noſtre creance avec leurs ſuperſtitions & refueries, & diſoit qu'il vouloit aller avec ſes Anceſtres. Quelque ſonge ſembloit l'auoir diſpoſé au biē; mais comme il ayſoit à faire bonne chere, & à dire le mot, Dieu le chaſtia. Eſtant malade pour la derniere fois, il fit ſon *Atha-taion*, ou feſtin d'adieu, en vne grande Affemblée, où il ſe traicta des mieux à leur façon; renouuellant ces careſſes à chaque ſyncope qui luy ſuruenoit. Nous l'allafmes voir, & ce fut à nous inuiter d'autant, nous menaçant que ſi nous ne luy faiſions raiſon de chanter à noſtre mode, il renuerſeroit tout apres ſa mort dans noſtre Cabane, & meſme l'emporteroit. Vn iour il nous demāda le Bapteſme, mais comme il ſēbloit ſe remettre, nous-nous déſiaſmes de ſon humeur. Sur le ſoir y eſtans retournez il dormoit. A peine eſtions nous hors de ſa Cabane qu'il expira, & Dieu ne permit pas que ce qu'il auoit meſpriſé pendant la vie, luy fuſt accordé à la mort. *Iudicia Dei abyſſus multa.*

Le vingtième de Septembre le pere de Louys de ſaincte Foy nous vint viſiter en noſtre Cabane, & nous dire la volonté qu'il auoit luy & toute ſa famille de ſe faire baptiſer, [42] pouſſé à cela, diſoit-il, entre autres motifs, parce que en leur défaite par les Iroquois Dieu luy auoit conſerué extraordinairement la vie.

Le quatrième de Nouembre nous partiſmes pour aller inſtruire ceſte maiſon, & conſiderer plus exactement la diſpoſition qu'ils auoient à la Foy. En chemin nous baptiſafmes deux malades, que nous croyons eſtre maintenant dans le Ciel; nous demeuraſmes ſept iours en noſtre voyage, pendant lequel nous in-

lage died in his unbelief; his end frightened some, and awakened in them good resolutions to become converted. It seems that our Lord had communicated to him, a year ago, several good impulses. He was willingly present at all our Assemblies, listening to our instructions; he was the first to make the sign of the Cross; [41] but afterwards he tried to blend our creed with their superstitions and nonsense, and said that he wished to go with his Ancestors. Some dream seemed to have inclined him to good; but as he liked to live well, and to have his say, God punished him. Being sick for the last time, he made his *Athataion* or farewell feast, in a large Assembly, where he partook of the best, after their fashion, renewing his indulgences after each syncope which came upon him. We went to see him, and he again sought our good offices,—threatening that, if we did not satisfy him by singing in our way, he would overturn everything in our Cabin after his death, and even carry it away. One day he asked us for Baptism; but, as he seemed to be recovering, we distrusted his mood. When we returned in the evening, he was sleeping. Scarcely were we outside his Cabin, when he expired; and God did not permit that what he had scorned during life should be granted him at death. *Judicia Dei abyssus multa.*

On the twentieth of September, the father of Louys de sainte Foy came to visit us in our Cabin, and told us of his desire that he and all his family should be baptized,—[42] urged, he said, among other motives, by the fact that, in their defeat by the Iroquois, God had extraordinarily preserved his life.

On the fourth of November, we set out to instruct this household, and to consider more exactly their

struiffimes toute ceste famille de tous les poincts importants de la Religion Chrestienne. Louys nous seruoit en cela de truchement, lequel possede fort bien nos mysteres, & les explique avec affection. Tous approuuoient & goustoient grandement les veritez Chrestiennes, & tant s'en faut qu'ils iugeassent aucun des commandemens de Dieu difficiles, que mesmes ils les trouuoient faciles. La continence coniugale, & l'indissolubilité du mariage, leur sembloit deuoir plus empescher le progres de l'Euangile, & en effect ce nous fera entre autres vne pierre d'achoppement. Cependant ils disoient qu'en égard à vne vie eternellement heureuse, ou eternellement malheureuse, rien [43] ne deuoit sembler difficile. Et puis, disoit le pere de Louys, si vous disiez qu'il fallust passer les deux, les trois, & plusieurs iours sans manger, on y pourroit trouuer de la peine; mais en tout le reste il n'y en a point. Il disoit que les François qui auoient esté icy, ne leur auoient iamais parlé de Dieu, ains s'estoient eux-mesmes adonnez comme eux à courir & folastrer avec les femmes. Au reste il disoit au P. Pijart qui estoit avec moy, qu'il apprist promptement la langue, afin d'aller demeurer à leur village, & y estre le Superieur d'une maison.

En ceste visite ie remarquay deux ou trois choses. Le pere de Louys entendant qu'il falloit apprendre le signe de la Croix, le *Pater*, l'*Ave*, & le Symbole des Apostres, dit que tout cela estoit peu, & qu'il n'auroit gueres d'esprit s'il ne pouuoit l'apprendre; qu'estant allé en diuerfes Nations on luy auoit commis quelquesfois plus de vingt fortes d'affaires, & qu'au retour il les auoit toutes rapportées tres-fidelement, & partant qu'il auroit bien-tost appris & retenu ce peu que nous luy imposions; cependant ce bel esprit trauailla

disposition towards the Faith. On the way we baptized two sick persons whom we believe to be now in Heaven. We remained away seven days, during which we instructed the whole family in all the important points of the Christian Religion. Louys served us in this as interpreter, as he is well acquainted with our mysteries, and explains them with enthusiasm. They all approved and enjoyed greatly the Christian truths; and, far from judging any of the commandments of God difficult, they even found them easy. Conjugal continence, and the indissolubility of marriage, seemed to them the most serious obstacles in the progress of the Gospel; and indeed this will be, among other things, a stumbling-block. However, they said that, in view of a life of eternal happiness or of eternal misery, nothing [43] ought to seem difficult. "And then," said Louys's father, "if you said that we must pass two, three, or more days without eating, we might find that a hardship; but there is none in all the rest." He said that the French who had been here had never spoken to them of God, but had been as much addicted as they to run after and dally with the women. Moreover he urged Father Pijart, who was with me, to learn the language quickly, that he might settle in their village, and be there the Superior of a house.

On this visit I noticed two or three things. Louys's father, hearing that it was necessary to learn the sign of the Cross, the *Pater*, the *Ave*, and the Apostles' Creed, said that all that was a small matter, and that he would have little intelligence if he could not learn it; that, having gone to various Nations, he had sometimes been entrusted with more than twenty different kinds of business, and that on his return he

fort à apprendre le signe de la Croix. C'est merueille combien les hommes font prompts [44] & éueillez aux affaires du monde, estans hebetez en celles de Dieu.

L'eus du plaisir à oïr Louys expliquant nos Mysteres à ses parens, il le faisoit avec grace, & monstroït qu'il les comprenoit & possédoit tres-bien; Ah que ie souhaitterois parler en Huron aussi bien que luy, car il est vray qu'en comparaïson ie ne fais que begayer, & cependant la façon de dire donne toute vne autre face. Comme i'eus mis en auant l'embrassement des cinq villes abominables, & la preservation de Loth & de sa famille, pour monstrier comme Dieu chastie feuierement dès ceste vie les meschans & les vilains, & comme il fauve les bons, Louys en tira ceste consequence pour ses parents, que s'ils seruoient fidelement Dieu, leur Cabane ne bruleroit pas, quand bien tout le village feroit embrasé.

Parauanture trouuera-on ces choses trop basses pour estre escrites; mais quoy? *Cùm eram paruulus, loquebar vt paruulus, sapiebam vt paruulus; cùm autem factus ero vir, euacuabo quæ erant paruuli.* Quand ceste Eglise fera creuë, elle produira d'autres fruits, on escriira peut-estre vn iour les grandes aumosnes, les ieufnes, les mortifications, la patiëce admirable, voire les martyres des Hurons [45] Chrestiens: Maintenant qu'ils ne font encor qu'au berceau, on ne doit attendre que des begayemens d'enfans; & partant ie continueray dans le recit de ces petites choses, qui feront, Dieu aydant, la semence de plus grandes.

Exposant aux parens de Louys le commandement de ne point defrober, & disant qu'en France on faisoit mourir les larrons, son pere demanda si deuenant Capi-

had reported them all faithfully; and consequently he could very soon learn and remember the little we asked. Yet this intelligent man had to work hard to learn the sign of the Cross. It is wonderful how prompt [44] and wide awake men are in worldly affairs, and how dull they are in Spiritual things.

I took pleasure in hearing Louys explain our Mysteries to his relatives; he did it with grace, and showed that he had understood them and made them his own. Ah! how I wish I could speak Huron as well as he does, for indeed in comparison with him I only stutter; and yet the way of saying a thing gives it an entirely different meaning. When I brought forward the burning of the five wicked cities, and the preservation of Lot and his family, to show how God chastises severely even in this life the wicked and vile, and how he saves the good, Louys drew the conclusion from it for his relatives that, if they served God faithfully, their Cabin would not be burned even if all the village were afire.

Perhaps some one will think these things too trifling to be written; but why? *Cùm eram parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus; cùm autem factus ero vir, evacuabo quæ erant parvuli.* When this Church shall attain its growth, it will produce other fruits. Some day, perhaps, will be told the great alms, the fasts, the mortifications, the admirable patience, even the martyrdoms of the Huron [45] Christians. Now that they are yet in their cradle, we ought to expect only the stammerings of children; and so I shall continue the recital of these little things which shall be, with God's aid, the seed of greater.

In explaining to Louys's relatives the commandment not to steal, and mentioning that in France thieves

taine il les feroit auffi mourir? Et Louys luy repartit, que le Pays feroit bien toft dépeuplé, car il faudroit tout tuer; vn Huron & vn larron eftant prefque la mefme chofe. Tandis que nous eftions icy nous fifmes obferuer le premier Vendredy & le premier Samedy qui ayt esté iamais obferué par les Hurons. Dés le Ieudy ils porterent ailleurs le refte de leur fagamité, & de leur viande, & le Vendredy & Samedy ayans esté inuitez au feftin, ils difoient que fi on leur donnoit de la viande ils la garderoient pour le Dimanche; & de fait nous auons veu vne fois en noftre village le pere de Louys refufer en vn feftin le Vendredy, vn morceau de chair qu'on luy prefentoit, ne faifant pas neantmoins de fcrupule de mâger du fagamité où on l'auoit cuit. Ce nouveau [46] profelyte n'en fçauoit pas dauantage. Nous les laiffafmes en bonne difpofition & bonné volonté, & ce fut tout; le fruit n'eft pas encor meur.

Le quinziefme d'Octobre nous allafmes au village d'*Senrio* visiter quelques malades, où noftre Seigneur nous ayda par le moyen d'une ieune fille de noftre village qui s'y trouua, & defabufa fi à propos vne pauvre femme malade, fur la crain[d]re qu'elle auoit que le Bapteme ne luy aduançast fes iours, qu'elle fe rendit enfin, & vne autre avec elle.

Le premier de Nouembre voyant vne femme groffe aux abois de la mort, nous fifmes vn vœu à faint Iofeph, au cas qu'elle guerift, & que l'enfant fust baptifé, auffi toft elle commença à fe bien porter, & quelque temps apres accoucha d'une fille, laquelle par le Bapteme a esté mife au rang des enfans de Dieu.

Le huictiefme de Decembre nous celebrafmes avec

were put to death, his father asked him if, when he became Captain, he would also put them to death. Louys replied that in that case the Country would very soon be depopulated, as it would be necessary to kill every one,—a Huron and a thief being almost the same. While we were here, we made them keep the first Friday and the first Saturday that had ever been observed by the Hurons. From Thursday they laid aside the remainder of their sagamité and their meat; and on Friday and Saturday, having been invited to a feast, they said that if meat were given to them they would keep it until Sunday; and, indeed, once in our village we saw Louys's father refuse, at a feast given on Friday, a piece of meat that was offered him, but not scrupling to eat some of the sagamité with which it had been cooked. This new [46] proselyte knew no better. We left them kindly disposed and well-intentioned, and that was all; the fruit is not yet ripe.

On the fifteenth of October, we went to the village of *Wenrio*, to visit some sick people, in which our Lord helped us by means of a young girl of our village who was there, and who so opportunely dispelled the fear of a poor sick woman that Baptism would shorten her life, that she at last gave way, and another with her.

On the first of November, seeing a woman with child at the point of death, we made a vow to saint Joseph that, in case she recovered, the child should be baptized. Immediately she began to improve, and some time afterward gave birth to a daughter, who by Baptism has been brought within the ranks of the children of God.

On the eighth of December, we celebrated with all

toute la folemnité poffible, la Fefte de l'immaculée Conception de la Vierge, & voüafmes de dire chacun vne Meffe tous les mois de l'année en l'honneur de ce mefme fainct Myftere, avec les autres particularitez que voftre R. nous [47] auoit prefrites. Nous croyons que la Bienheureufe Vierge a eu pour agreables nos petites deuotions, car dés la mefme iournée nous baptifafmes trois petites filles, dont l'une nommée Marie de la Conception eft cefte petite qui eft fi feruente à apprendre, dont nous auons parlé cy-deffus, & deuant la fin du mois nous en eufmes baptifé vingt-huict; & du depuis nous y voyons vn notable changement, fi bien que chaque mois nous en auons tousiours gagné bon nombre, en fuite de cefte offrande.

Le iour de la Purification ayant aflemblé tous les enfans Chreftiens parez le mieux qu'il fe peût, avec leurs parens; nous fifmes en leur prefence la benediction des cierges, puis ayant expliqué aux grands côme à tel iour noftre Dame auoit offert fon Fils au Temple au Pere Eternel, & qu'à fon imitation ils deuoient auffi prefenter leurs enfans au feruice de Dieu, & qu'en ce faifant Dieu en prendroit vn foin plus particulier, ils en furent tres-contens. C'eft pourquoy prenant vn Crucifix en main ie prononçay en leur langue cefte Oraifon.

[48] Sus efcoutez vous qui auez fait la terre, & vous
 Io fakhrihote de Sondechichiai, dinde
 qui Pere vous appelez, & vous fon Fils
 efa d'Oiftan ichiatfi, dinde de hoen
 qui vous appelez, & vous Efprit Saint qui vous appel-
 ichiatfi, dinde de Efken d'oatatoecti ichiat-
 lez, fus efcoutez car ce n'eft pas chofe de peu d'importance que
 fi; Io fakhrihote, onekindé oeron d'ic8a-

possible solemnity the Festival of the immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and each of us vowed to say a Mass every month in the year in honor of this same holy Mystery, with the other details your Reverence [47] had laid down for our guidance. We believe that the Blessed Virgin has accepted our humble devotions; for that very day we baptized three little girls,—one of whom, named Marie of the Conception, is that little girl so eager to learn, of whom we have spoken above,—and before the end of the month we had baptized twenty-eight; since then, we see a notable change, so much so that every month we have gained a goodly number, in consequence of that offering.

On the day of the Purification, having assembled all the Christian children, adorned as best they could, along with their parents, we performed in their presence the benediction of the tapers; then we explained to the adults how on such a day our Lady had offered her Son in the Temple to the Eternal Father, and how, in imitation of her, they ought also to present their children to the service of God, and if they did so God would take a more particular care of them; they were very well pleased with these statements. Hence, taking a Crucifix in my hand, I pronounced in their language this Prayer:

[48] Come listen you who have made the earth, and you
 Io sakhrihote de Sondechichiai, dinde
 who Father call yourself, and you his Son
 esa d'Oistan ichiatsi, dinde de hoen
 who call yourself, and you Spirit Holy who call yourself;
 ichiatsi, dinde de Esken d'oatatoecti ichiatsi;
 come listen, for it is not a thing of small importance that
 Io sakhrihote onekindé oeron d'icwa-

nous faisons, regardez ces assemblez
 kerha, atifacagnren cha ondikhuc8até
 enfans, defia ce font tes creatures tous; parce que
 Atichiahà, onne atifata8an á8eti; aerhon
 on les a baptizez. Mais voicy que vne autrefois nous
 onatindec8aefiti. Caati onne 8áto efátaan-
 te les presentons eux tous, nous te les abandonnons tous,
 c8as echa á8eti, á8eti efátonkhien,
 c'est ce que penfent ce que voila affem-
 ondayee echa 8enderhay cha 8endikhu-
 blées femmes, elles penfent maistre
 c8até otindekhien, 8enderhay a8andio
 qu'il foit de tous les enfans. Sus donc maintenant
 a8aton e8a tichiaha. Io ichien nonh8a
 prenez courage gardez-les, defendez-les. Qu'ils
 etfaon hatfacaratai, atfatanonftat. Enon-
 ne deuiennent point malades, qu'ils ne pechent
 che 8atinonh8aké, enonché 8atirih8an-
 iamais, deftournez tout ce
 derâké, aonh8entfannenhan, ferre8a e8a
 qui est mal; que fi la contagion nous attaque
 d'otechienti, din de ongnratarrié etfeso-
 derechef, deftourne-là auffi; que fi la famine
 nachien, ferre8a itondi; din de onrendich
 [49] nous attaque deftourne-la auffi; que fi la guer-
 efonachien, ferre8a itondi; din de 8sken-
 re nous affault deftourne la auffi; que fi
 raetac efonachien, ferre8a itondi; din de
 le demon nous prouoque, c'est à dire le mauuais demõ, &
 oKi efoniatoata ondayee d'okiafti. chia
 les mefchans qui par poison font mourir, deftourne les
 daononc8aieffa d'oki afaoio, ferre8a
 auffi. Finalement deftourne tout ce qui est de mauuais.
 itondi. oc8etac8i ferre8a e8e d'otechienti.
 Iefus nostre Seigneur de Dieu Fils, c'est ce à quoy tu
 Iefus onandaerari Dieu hoen ondayee

exhorteras ton Pere, car il ne te refuse
 achiehetfaron de hiaïstan, oneké tehia-
 point. Et vous auffi Marie de Iefus la Mere qui
 nonftas. chia defa 8arie Iefus ond8e de
 eftes Vierge, cela auffi dis. Ainfi
 chikhonc8an, ondayee itondi chihon. to
 foit-il.
 haya8an.

Ceste Oraïfon entre autres leur aggrea, d'autant que nous demandions à Dieu qu'il les preferuast de la contagion, de la famine, & de la guerre; ils n'y desirerent de plus que ces deux prieres, qu'ils ne fissent point naufrage, & ne se brussassent point: *enonche 8ati8areha, enonche 8ati8at8é*; cela y estant ils la iugerent accomplie. Dieu soit infiniment loüé, & la B. Vierge, car nous pouons dire que de ce iour-là nous prîmes possession de ceste petite ieunesse, qui [50] a continué depuis à s'assembler tous les Dimanches dans nostre Cabane pour prier Dieu. Il estoit bien raisonnable que puis qu'ils auoient commencé à naître enfans de Dieu le iour de l'immaculée Conception de ceste saincte Vierge, ils commençassent auffi le iour de sa Purification à practiquer le deuoir de Chrestien, pour le continuer le reste de leur vie; c'est ce que nous esperons par l'entremise de ceste Mere de misericorde, qui nous fait assez paroître que sans doute elle veut estre la Mere de ceste nouvelle Eglise.

Le vingt-vniefme de Mars vne femme qui auoit esté enuiron vingt-quatre heures en trauail d'enfant, accoucha heureusement, auffi tost qu'on luy eut appliqué vne Relique de N. B. P. S. Ignace; son fruit ne vesquit qu'autant qu'il fallut pour aller au Ciel par le Baptême.

thou wilt exhort thy Father, for he does not refuse thee
 achiehetsaron de hiaistan, oneké tehia-
 anything. And you also Mary, of Jesus the Mother who
 nonstas. chia desa Warie Jesus ondwe de
 art Virgin, that also say. So
 chikhoncwan, ondayee itondi chihon. to
 be it.
 hayawan.

This Prayer, among others, pleased them, inas-
 much as we asked God to preserve them from pesti-
 lence, famine, and war. They desired nothing more
 than these two prayers, that they might not be ship-
 wrecked, and might not suffer by fire: *enonche wati-
 wareha*, *enonche watidaté*; these being added, they
 thought it complete. God and the Blessed Virgin
 be praised forever; for we can say that, from that
 day, we took possession of these little ones, who [50]
 have continued since then to gather every Sunday in
 our Cabin, to worship God. It was very fitting that,
 since they had become children of God on the day of
 the immaculate Conception of the holy Virgin, they
 should also begin on the day of her Purification to
 practice Christian duty, to continue it the rest of
 their lives. This we hope through the mediation
 of the Mother of mercy, who has shown us plainly
 that she will be the Mother of this rising Church.

On the twenty-first of March, a woman, who had
 been about twenty-four hours in travail, brought
 forth a child happily, as soon as we had applied to
 her a Relic of Our Blessed Father St. Ignatius. Her
 child lived only long enough to enable us to send it
 to Heaven by Baptism.

On the twenty-eighth of March, François Margue-
 rie, who had gone to winter with the Savages of the

Le vingt-huictiefme de Mars François Marguerie qui estoit allé hyuerner avec les Sauuages de l'Isle, nous en amena quatre; Ce nous fut vne grande consolation de receuoir des visites Françoises en vne telle faison, & d'entendre des nouuelles de Kébec, & des trois Riuieres. Nous fufmes auffi surpris d'estonnement de voir qu'un ieune [51] homme comme luy aagé de vingt à vingt-deux ans, eust le courage de fuiure les Sauuages sur les glaces, dans les neiges, & au trauers des forefts quarante iours continus, & l'espace de quelques trois cens lieuës, portant, trainant & trauaillant autant & plus que pas vn de sa bande, car ces Barbares estans arriuez au giste luy faisoient faire leur chaudiere, tandis qu'ils se chauffoient & se repofoient; Il nous fait au reste vne belle leçon, car si pour contenter vn desir de voir, il a tant pris de peine, & deuoré tant de difficultez venant en une faison si fascheuse, & par des chemins si étranges, certainement des personnes Religieuses pouffées du saint desir de gagner des ames à Dieu, ne doiuent nullement redouter l'aspreté des chemins, que la commodité des Canots, la faison plaisante de l'Esté, & la compagnie des Sauuages assez fecourables, rendent non seulement beaucoup moindre, mais aussi en quelque façon agreable; outre que Dieu a des consolations admirables pour ceux qui le craignent, mais beaucoup plus pour ceux qui l'ayment.

L'occasion de la venuë des Sauuages de l'Isle en ce pays des Hurons, estoit la mort [52] de vingt-trois personnes que les Iroquois auoient massacrez nonobstât la paix: Cette perfidie leur cauoit vn grand desir de se venger. Ils auoient amassé quelques vingt-trois colliers de Pourcelaine afin de fousleuer les Hurons

Island,⁴ brought four of them to us. It was a great consolation to receive visits from Frenchmen at such a season and to hear news of Kébec and the three Rivers. We were also deeply astonished to see that a young [51] man like him, only twenty to twenty-two years old, had the courage to follow the Savages over ice and snow, and through forests, forty successive days, and for the space of some three hundred leagues,—carrying, dragging, and working as much as, and more than any of his band, for these Barbarians, having arrived at their halting place, made him get ready their meal, while they warmed themselves and rested. Furthermore, he taught us a good lesson; for if, to satisfy a wish to see, he took so much pains, and endured such hardships in a season so rude and over roads so strange,—surely Religious persons, urged on by a holy desire to win souls to God, ought in no way to dread the roughness of the roads which the convenience of Canoes, the pleasantness of the Summer season, and the company of generally helpful Savages, render not only much less annoying, but even to some extent agreeable. Besides, while God has admirable consolations for those who fear him, he has much greater ones for those who love him.

The occasion of the coming of these Island Savages to the country of the Hurons was the death [52] of twenty-three persons whom the Iroquois had massacred, notwithstanding the peace. This perfidy had excited a strong desire for vengeance. They had collected some twenty-three collars of Porcelain, to rouse the Hurons and the Algonquins to take up arms and lend them assistance, promising that our French would be of the party, as against the com-

& les Algonquins à prendre les armes, & leur prester main forte, se promettant que nos François feroient de la partie, comme contre vn commun ennemy; Mais ny les Hurons ny les Algonquins n'y ont point voulu entendre, & ont refusé leurs presens; les Bissiriniens n'y ont non plus voulu entendre à cause des extorsions qu'ils souffrent desdits Sauvages de l'Isle en descendant à la traite; Pour les Hurons, ils ont couuert leurs refus de l'apprehension d'une armée dont on les menaçoit en bref. Mais en effet ç'a esté pour ce que la Nation des Ours qui fait la moitié des Hurons, s'est piquée de ce que les Sauvages de l'Isle ne les inuitoient point comme les autres, ne leur faizants point part de leurs presens, au contraire defendant qu'on ne leur en parlaist.

Cependant d'un autre costé nous apprehendons que ce ne soient tous stratagèmes de Satan pour empescher la conuersion de ces Peuples, car ceux de l'Isle se voyans [53] éconduits s'en sont retournez fort mescontés tant des Hurons, que des Bissiriniens, & ont menacé qu'ils ne lairroient [*sc.* laissoient] passer ny les vns, ny les autres pour aller aux François.

Le Borgne de l'Isle disoit aux Hurons en nostre preference, pour recommander le fuiet de son Ambassade, que son corps estoit des haches, il vouloit dire, que la conseruation de sa personne, & de sa Nation, estoit la conseruation des haches, des chaudières, & de toute la traite des François pour les Hurons; mesmes on dit, soit vray, soit faux, qu'il s'est vanté qu'il estoit maistre des François, & qu'il nous remeneroit à Kébec, & nous feroit repasser la mer à tous; ie dis qu'on le dit, & qu'on luy attribüë ces rodomontades, car nous ne les auons pas ouyes, au contraire

mon enemy; but neither the Hurons nor the Algonquins have been willing to listen to them, and have refused their presents. The Bissiriniens likewise have refused to listen to them, on account of the extortion practiced on them by the Island Savages in going down for trade. As to the Hurons, they have covered their refusal with the apprehension they have of an army with which they were lately threatened. But the real cause was in fact that the Nation of the Bear, which constitutes the half of the Hurons, was piqued because the Island Savages did not invite them as well as the others,—offering them no presents, and on the contrary forbidding that they should be told of the matter.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, we are afraid that these are all stratagems of Satan to hinder the conversion of these Peoples; for the men of the Isle, seeing themselves [53] refused, have returned very much discontented at the Hurons as well as at the Bissiriniens, and have threatened that they would let neither of them pass down to the French.

Le Borgne [the One-eyed] of the Isle said to the Hurons, in our presence, in order to recommend the subject of his Embassy, that his body was hatchets; he meant that the preservation of his person and of his Nation was the preservation of the hatchets, the kettles, and all the trade of the French, for the Hurons. They even say, whether true or false, that he has boasted that he is master of the French, and that he would lead us back to Kébec and make us all recross the sea. I am telling what is said, and the boasts attributed to him, for we did not hear them; on the contrary, they went away, so far as we are con-

ils se departirent d'avec nous avec toute forte de satisfaction & de contentement.

Ils nous firent à la verité vn grand discours comme d'amis, qui tendoit, ou à nous faire quitter tout à fait le Pays des Hurons, ou au moins la Nation des Ours, comme la plus meschante de toutes, qui auoit massacré Estienne Bruslé, & le bon Pere Nicolas Recolet avec son compagnon; [54] & qui pour vn coup leur auoit autrefois assommé huict de leurs hommes; Et pour moy en particulier, en me flattant & me loüant, ils me dirent, que plustost que de risquer ma vie parmy vne Nation si perfide, ils me conseilloient de descendre à Kébec, au moins apres auoir passé icy encor vn an, pour sçauoir parfaitement la langue, que ie ferois vn grand Capitaine, & qu'il n'y auroit que moy qui parleroit dans les conseils; C'est ainsi que ces braues conseillers nous donnoient des aduis, avec plusieurs & long discours, pour monstrier l'amitié qu'ils auoient tousiours portée aux François par dessus toutes les Nations. Nous leur respondismes que nous n'estiõs pas venus en ces Pays pour seruir de truchement, ny sous esperance de nous y enrichir, ou de deuenir vn iour grands Capitaines; mais que nous auions abandonné nos parens, nos moyens, & toutes nos possessions, & auions trauerfé la mer afin de leur venir enseigner la voye de salut, au peril de nos vies; qu'au reste nous taschions, & que nous tascherions de si bien nous cõporter, que les autres Nations auroient plus de fuiet de nous aymer, que de nous mal-faire. Bref nous leur dismes qu'vn iour [55] quelqu'vn des nostres pourroit demeurer en leur Pays pour les instruire, & qu'il y en auroit desia n'estoit leur vie errante; Ils tesmoignerent en estre fort contens, &

cerned, with every appearance of satisfaction and contentment.

They had, in fact, a long and friendly talk with us, with the object in view of making us entirely leave the Country of the Hurons or at least the Nation of the Bear, as the most wicked of all the tribes, since it had murdered Estienne Bruslé and good Father Nicolas, the Recolet, with his companion; [54] and had some time before, for a blow, slain eight of their men. To me in particular, in the way of flattery and praise, they said that, rather than risk my life among a Nation so perfidious, they would advise me to go down to Kébec, at least after having passed another year here to learn the language perfectly; and that I would be a great Captain, and the only one who could speak in their councils. Thus these brave counsellors gave us advice, with many and long speeches, to show the friendship they had always had for the French above all Nations. We replied that we had not come into this Country to act as interpreters, nor in the hope of getting riches, nor yet in the hope of becoming one day great Captains; but that we had left behind our parents, our means, and all our possessions, and had crossed the sea in order to come to teach them the way of salvation, at the peril of our lives; that, for the rest, we were trying and would try so to comport ourselves that other Nations would have more reason to love us than to do us harm. In short, we told them that one day [55] some of our Fathers might stay in their Country, to instruct them; and that they would have had them before this, had it not been for their wandering life. They declared that they were well

acquiescerent à nos raisons: pour comble desquelles nous leur donnâmes vn Canot, avec quelques autres petits presens, dont ils demeurèrent tres-satisfaits, disans qu'ils estoient desia de retour en leur Pays, & firent mille remerciemens avec forces promesses de bien traiter les nostres quand ils passeront sur leurs terres. Nous taschons de nous concilier l'amitié de tous ces Peuples afin de les conquieser à Dieu.

La Semaine Sainte Louys de sainte Foy nous vint visiter, & fit ses Pasques avec nous pour se disposer à aller à la guerre avec vn sien oncle contre les Iroquois; il n'est pas encor de retour; on nous veut faire accroire qu'il est descendu à Kébec; ie m'en raporte.

Le quatorziesme d'Auril le fils du Capitaine Aenons apres auoir perdu au ieu de pailles vne robe de Castor, & vn collier de quatre cens grains de Pourcelaine, eut vne telle apprehension de ses parens, que n'osant entrer dans la Cabane, il se desespera, & se pendit à vn arbre. C'estoit vn esprit [56] fort melancholique; dès cet Hyuer il auoit esté desia sur le point de se défaire foy-mesme, mais vne petite fille le prit sur le fait: comme on luy demandoit qui l'auoit porté à ceste meschante resolution, Je ne sçay, dit-il, mais il me semble que i'ay quelqu'un dedans moy qui me dit continuellement, pends toy, pends toy. Le ieu ne porte iamais à rien de bon; en effet les Sauuages mesmes remarquent que c'est quasi l'vnique cause des batteries & des meurtres.

Le huictiesme de May, estant allé à la Rochelle, vne femme qui venoit d'accoucher, me presenta son petit enfant à baptiser; comme il se portoit bien, & que nostre coustume est, sinon en cas de necessité de

content, and acquiesced in our reasons; to confirm which, we gave them a Canoe with some other little presents, with which they were very well satisfied,—saying that they were already on their return to their own Country, and uttering a thousand thanks and many promises to treat our Fathers well when they should pass through their territory. We endeavor to gain for ourselves the friendship of all these Peoples, in order to obtain them for God.

During Holy Week, Louys de sainte Foy came to visit us, and spent Easter with us in order to prepare himself to go to war with his uncle against the Iroquois. He has not yet returned; they try to make us believe that he has gone down to Kébec; but I have confidence in him.

On the fourteenth of April, the son of Chief Aenons, after having lost at the game of straws⁵ a Beaver robe and a collar of four hundred Porcelain beads, had such a fear of meeting his relatives that, not daring to enter the Cabin, he became desperate, and hanged himself to a tree. He had a [56] very melancholy disposition. The first of the Winter he was on the point of putting an end to himself, but a little girl caught him in the act. When asked what had led him to this wicked resolution, “I do not know,” said he, “but some one within me seems always to be saying, ‘Hang thyself, hang thyself.’” Gambling never leads to anything good; in fact, the Savages themselves remark that it is almost the sole cause of assaults and murders.

On the eighth of May, having gone to la Rochelle, a woman who had just given birth to a child presented it to me for baptism. As it was well, and as

ne baptiser que dans nostre Cabane avec les ceremonies de l'Eglise, pour plus grand respect de ce Sacrement; ie fus tout prest de luy dire que ce feroit assez qu'elle nous l'apportast à la premiere commodité: neanmoins ie me fenty inspiré de passer outre; & sans doute ce fut vne Prouidence toute particuliere, car peu de iours apres les parens nous vinrent apporter la nouvelle de sa mort.

Le huictiesme de Iuin, le Capitaine des Naiz perchez, ou de la Nation du Castor, [57] qui est à trois iournées de nous, vint nous demander quelqu'un de nos François pour aller avec eux passer l'Estdé dans vn fort qu'ils ont fait, pour la crainte qu'ils ont des *A8eat8i8acnrrrhonon*, c'est à dire, des gens puants, qui ont rompu le traicté de paix, & ont tué deux des leurs, dont ils ont fait festin.

Le neufiesme aborda icy vn Sauvage mort sous les glaces. Tout le village y accourut, & rendit à ses parens les deuoirs accoustumez de si bonne grace, que parmy les presens mutuels l'intendance des ceremonies leur fut deferée en ceste occasion, le mort s'estant trouué n'estre point des leurs.

Le treiziesme du mesme mois nous eufmes nouvelle qu'une troupe de Hurons qui s'en alloient en guerre, & s'estoient cabanez à la portée d'un mousquet du dernier village, à une iournée de nous, apres auoir passé pres de deux nuicts à chanter & à manger, furent surpris d'un si profond sommeil, que l'ennemy suruenant en fendit la teste à douze sans resistance, le reste se sauua à la fuite.

I'eusse pû adiouster icy beaucoup de choses qui se sont passées ceste année, & dont nous auons esté temoins oculaires: mais [58] i'ay iugé plus à propos de

our custom is, except in case of necessity, to baptize only in our Cabin with the ceremonies of the Church, in order to cause the Sacrament to be more highly respected, I was about to say that she might bring it at her first convenience, when I felt inspired to depart from our custom; and no doubt it was a special Providence, for, a few days after, its parents brought us news of its death.

On the eighth of June, the Captain of the Naiz percez, or Nation of the Beaver,⁶ [57] which is three days journey from us, came to request one of our Frenchmen to spend the Summer with them, in a fort they had made from fear of the *Aweatsiwaenrrhonon*, or stinking tribe,⁷ who have broken the treaty of peace, and have killed two of their men, of whom they made a feast.

On the ninth, a Savage who lay dead under the ice was cast ashore here. The whole village hastened out and paid to his relations the accustomed devoirs, with so good a grace that the management of the ceremonies was given over to the villagers on this occasion, among mutual presents, although the dead man had been found to be not one of their people.

On the thirteenth of the same month, we had news of a troop of Hurons who had gone to war, and who were encamped at the distance of a musket-shot from the last village, a day's journey from us; after having passed two nights in singing and eating, they were overtaken with so profound a sleep, that the enemy, coming suddenly upon them, cleft open the heads of a dozen without resistance, the rest escaping by flight.

I might have added here many things that have

les referuer à la feconde partie de ceste Relation; I'efpere que i'éuiteray par ce moyen plus ayfément la confufion, & contenteray à mon aduis dauantage tous ceux qui font curieux de fçauoir les mœurs & les couftumes de ces Peuples.

taken place this year, and of which we have been eyewitnesses, but [58] I have thought it best to reserve them for a second part of this Relation. I hope in this way more easily to avoid confusion, and to satisfy more fully those who are curious to know the manners and customs of these Tribes.

CHAPITRE III.

ADUERTISSEMENT D'IMPORTANCE POUR CEUX QU'IL
PLAIRROIT À DIEU D'APPELLER EN LA NOU-
UELLE FRANCE, & PRINCIPALEMENT
AU PAYS DES HURONS.

N OUS auons appris que le falut de tant d'ames innocentes lauées, & blanchies dans le Sang du Fils de Dieu, touche bien sensiblement le cœur de plusieurs, & y allume de nouveaux desirs de quitter l'ancienne France, pour se transporter en la Nouvelle. Dieu soit beny à iamais qui nous fait paroistre par là qu'il a enfin ouuert à ces Peuples les entrailles de son infinie misericorde. Je ne suis pas pour refroidir ceste genereuse resolution; hélas ce sont ces [59] cœurs selon le cœur de Dieu que nous attendons; mais ie desire seulement leur donner un mot d'aduis.

Il est vray que *fortis ut mors dilectio*, l'amour de Dieu a la force de faire ce que fait la mort, c'est à dire, de nous détacher entierement des creatures & de nous mesmes; neantmoins ces desirs que nous faisons de cooperer au falut des Infideles ne sont pas tousiours des marques affeurrées de cet amour épuré; il peut y auoir quelquesfois un peu d'amour propre, & de recherche de nous mesme, si nous regardons seulement le bien & le contentement qu'il y a de mettre des ames dans le Ciel, sans considerer meurement les peines, les trauaux, & les difficultez qui sont inseparables de ces fonctions Euangeliques.

CHAPTER III.

IMPORTANT ADVICE FOR THOSE WHOM IT SHALL PLEASE
GOD TO CALL TO NEW FRANCE, AND ESPE-
CIALLY TO THE COUNTRY OF
THE HURONS.

WE have learned that the salvation of so many innocent souls, washed and made white in the Blood of the Son of God, is stirring very deeply the hearts of many, and is exciting new desires in them to leave old France that they may come to the New. God be forever blessed that he, as this shows us, has at last opened to these Tribes the bowels of his infinite pity. I wish not to chill the ardor of this generous resolution. Alas! it is those [59] hearts after God's own heart whom we are expecting; but I only wish to give one word of advice.

It is true that *fortis ut mors dilectio*, the love of God has power to do what death does,—that is to say, to detach us entirely from creatures and from ourselves; nevertheless, these desires that we feel of working for the safety of Infidels are not always sure signs of that pure love. There may be sometimes a little self-love and regard for ourselves, if we look only at the blessing and satisfaction of putting souls in Heaven without considering fully the pains, the labors and the difficulties which are inseparable from these Evangelical functions.

On this account, in order that no one may be de-

Doncques afin que perfonne ne foit abusé en ce point, *ostendam illi quanta hîc oporteat pro nomine Iesu pati*. Il est vray que les deux derniers venus, les Peres Mercier & Pijart, n'ont pas eu tant de peine en leur voyage, mais en comparaïson de nous qui estions montez l'année precedente; ils n'ôt point ramé, leurs gens n'ont point esté malades comme les nostres, il ne leur a point fallu porter de pesantes charges. Or nonobstant [60] cela pour facile que puisse estre la trauerfée des Sauuages, il y a tousiours assez dequoy abbatre bien fort vn cœur qui ne feroit pas bien mortifié; la facilité des Sauuages n'accourcit pas le chemin, n'applanit pas les roches, n'éloigne pas les dangers. Soyés avec qui que vous voudrez il faut vous attendre à estre trois & quatre semaines par les chemins tout au moins, de n'auoir pour compagnie que des personnes que vous n'avez iamais veu, d'estre dans vn Canot d'escorce en vne posture assez incommode, sans auoir la liberté de vous tourner d'un costé ou d'autre, en danger cinquante fois le iour de verser, ou de brifer sur les roches. Pendant le iour le Soleil vous brule, pendant la nuict vous courez risque d'estre la proye des Maringoins. Vous montez quelquesfois cinq ou six faults en vn iour, & n'avez le soir pour tout recōfort qu'un peu de bled battu entre deux pierres, & cuit avec de belle eau claire; pour lit la terre, & bien fouuent des roches inégales & raboteuses, d'ordinaire point d'autre abry que les estoiles, & tout cela dans vn silence perpetuel; si vous vous bleffez à quelque rencontre, si vous tombez malade, n'attendez de ces Barbares d'affistance, [61] car où la prendroient-ils. Et si la maladie est dangereuse, & que vous foyez éloignez des villages, qui y font fort rares,

ceived in regard to this, *ostendam illi quanta hinc oporteat pro nomine Jesu pati*. True, the two who came last, Fathers Mercier and Pijart, had no such trouble in their journey as those of us who came here the year before. They did not paddle, their men were not sick, as ours were; they had not to bear the heavy loads. Yet notwithstanding [60] this, easy as may be a trip with the Savages, there is always enough to greatly cast down a heart not well under subjection. The readiness of the Savages does not shorten the road, does not smooth down the rocks, does not remove the dangers. Be with whom you like, you must expect to be, at least, three or four weeks on the way, to have as companions persons you have never seen before; to be cramped in a bark Canoe in an uncomfortable position, not being free to turn yourself to one side or the other; in danger fifty times a day of being upset or of being dashed upon the rocks. During the day, the Sun burns you; during the night, you run the risk of being a prey to Mosquitoes. You sometimes ascend five or six rapids in a day; and, in the evening, the only refreshment is a little corn crushed between two stones and cooked in fine clear water; the only bed is the earth, sometimes only the rough, uneven rocks, and usually no roof but the stars; and all this in perpetual silence. If you are accidentally hurt, if you fall sick, do not expect from these Barbarians any assistance, [61] for whence could they obtain it? And if the sickness is dangerous, and if you are remote from the villages, which are here very scattered, I would not like to guarantee that they would not abandon you, if you could not make shift to follow them.

When you reach the Hurons, you will indeed find

ie ne voudrois pas vous affeurer, que si vous ne vous pouuez ayder vous mesme pour les fuiure, ils ne vous abandonnent.

Quand vous arriueriez aux Hurons vous trouueriez à la verité des cœurs pleins de charité, nous vous receurons à bras ouuerts comme vn Ange de Paradis, nous aurons toutes les bonnes volonteés du monde de vous faire du bien, mais nous sommes quasi dans l'impossible de le faire; nous vous recevons dans vne fichetive Cabane que ie n'en trouue point quasi en France d'affez miserables pour vous pouuoir dire, voila comment vous ferez logé. Tout harassé & fatigué que vous ferez, nous ne pouuons vous donner qu'une pauvre natte, & tout au plus quelque peau pour vous feruir de lict; & de plus vous arriueriez en vne saison où de miserables petites bestioles, que nous appellons icy *Ta8hac*, & pulces en bon François, vous empeschent quasi les nuits entieres de fermer l'œil; car elles sont en ces pays-cy incomparablement plus importunes qu'en France; la pouffiere de la Cabane les nourrit, les Sauvages nous les apportēt, [62] nous les allons querir chez eux, & ce petit martyre, sans parler des Maringois, Moufquites, & autre semblable engeance dure d'ordinaire les trois & quatre mois de l'Esté.

Il faut faire estat pour grãd maistre & grãd Theologien que vous ayez esté en France d'estre icy petit Escolier, & encor, ô bon Dieu, de quels maîtres! des femmes, des petits enfans, de tous les Sauvages, & d'estre exposé à leur risée. La langue Huronne fera vostre saint Thomas, & vostre Aristote, & tout habile homme que vous estes, & bien disant parmy des personnes doctes & capables, il vous faut refoudre d'estre

hearts full of charity; we will receive you with open arms as an Angel of Paradise, we shall have all the inclination in the world to do you good; but we are so situated that we can do very little. We shall receive you in a Hut, so mean that I have scarcely found in France one wretched enough to compare it with; that is how you will be lodged. Harassed and fatigued as you will be, we shall be able to give you nothing but a poor mat, or at most a skin, to serve you as a bed; and, besides, you will arrive at a season when miserable little insects that we call here *Taouhac*, and, in good French, *pulces* [fleas], will keep you awake almost all night, for in these countries they are incomparably more troublesome than in France; the dust of the Cabin nourishes them, the Savages bring them to us, [62] we get them in their houses; and this petty martyrdom, not to speak of Mosquitoes, Sandflies, and other like vermin, lasts usually not less than three or four months of the Summer.

Instead of being a great master and great Theologian as in France, you must reckon on being here a humble Scholar, and then, good God! with what masters!—women, little children, and all the Savages,—and exposed to their laughter. The Huron language will be your saint Thomas and your Aristotle; and clever man as you are, and speaking glibly among learned and capable persons, you must make up your mind to be for a long time mute among the Barbarians. You will have accomplished much, if, at the end of a considerable time, you begin to stammer a little.

And then how do you think you would pass the Winter with us? After having heard all that must

affez long-temps muet parmy des Barbares; ce fera beaucoup pour vous, quand vous commencerez à begayer au bout de quelque temps.

Et puis comment penferiez-vous passer icy l'Hyuer? apres auoir ouy tout ce qu'on endure hyuernant avec les Sauuages Montagnets, ie puis dire que c'est à peu près la vie que nous menons icy parmy les Hurons; ie le dis fans exaggeration, les cinq & fix mois de l'Hyuer se passent dans ces incommoditez presque continuelles, les froidures excessiues, la fumée, & l'importunité des Sauuages; nous auons vne Cabane bastie [63] de simples écorces, mais si bien iointes, que nous n'auons que faire de sortir dehors pour sçauoir quel temps il fait: la fumée est bien souuent si espaisse, si aigre & si opiniastre, que les cinq & six iours entiers, si vous n'estes tout à fait à l'espreuue, c'est bien tout ce que vous pouuez faire que de cognoistre quelque chose dans vostre Breuiaire: Avec cela nous auons depuis le matin iusques au soir nostre foyer quasi toujours assiegé de Sauuages; sur tout ils ne manquent gueres à l'heure du repas: que s'il arriue que vous ayez quelque chose d'extraordinaire, si peu que ce soit, il faut faire estat que la plus part de ces Messieurs font de la maison; si vous ne leur en faites part, vous passerez pour vn vilain. Pour la nourriture, elle n'est pas si miserable, bien que nous nous passions d'ordinaire d'un peu de bled, avec vn morceau de poisson sec & fumé, outre quelques fructs dont ie parleray icy bas.

Au reste iusques à present nous n'auons eu que des roses, d'oresnauant que nous auons des Chrestiens quasi en tous les villages; il faut bien faire estat d'y faire des courses en quelque faison de l'annee que ce

be endured in wintering among the Montagnets Savages, I may say that that is almost the life we lead here among the Hurons. I say it without exaggeration, the five and six months of Winter are spent in almost continual discomforts,—excessive cold, smoke, and the annoyance of the Savages; we have a Cabin built [63] of simple bark, but so well jointed that we have to send some one outside to learn what kind of weather it is; the smoke is very often so thick, so annoying, and so obstinate that, for five or six days at a time, if you are not entirely proof against it, it is all you can do to make out a few lines in your Breviary. Besides, from morning until evening our fireplace is almost always surrounded by Savages,—above all, they seldom fail to be there at mealtimes. If you happen to have anything more than usual, let it be ever so little, you must reckon on most of these Gentlemen as your guests; if you do not share with them, you will be considered mean. As regards the food, it is not so bad, although we usually content ourselves with a little corn, or a morsel of dry smoked fish, or some fruits, of which I shall speak further on.

For the rest, thus far we have had only roses; henceforth, as we have Christians in almost every village, we must count upon making rounds through them at all seasons of the year, and of remaining there, according to necessity, [64] for two or three whole weeks, amid annoyances that cannot be described. Add to all this, that our lives depend upon a single thread; and if, wherever we are in the world, we are to expect death every hour, and to be prepared for it, this is particularly the case here. For not to mention that your Cabin is only, as it were, chaff, and that it might be burned at any mo-

loit, & d'y demeurer selon les occurrences [64] les quinze iours & les trois semaines entieres, dans des incommoditez qui ne se peuvent dire. Adioustez à tout cela que nostre vie ne tient quasi qu'à vn filet, & si en quelque lieu du monde que nous soyons nous deuons attendre la mort à toute heure, & auoir toujours nostre ame entre nos mains, c'est particulièrement en ce pays. Car outre que vostre Cabane n'est que comme de paille, & que le feu y peut prendre à tout moment, nonobstant le foin que vous apportez pour destourner ces accidens, la malice des Sauvages vous donne fujet de ce costé-là d'estre dans des craintes quasi perpetuelles: vn mescontant vous peut brusler, ou fendre la teste à l'escart. Et puis vous estes responable de la sterilité ou fecondité de la terre, sous peine de la vie; vous estes la cause des sechereffes, si vous ne faites plouuoir, on ne parle pas moins que de se défaire de vous. Je n'ay que faire de parler du danger qu'il y a du costé des ennemis, c'est assez de dire que le treiziesme de ce mois de Iuin ils ont tué douze de nos Hurons auprès du village de Contarrea qui n'est qu'à vne iournée de nous; que peu de temps auparauant à quatre lieues du nostre, on descouurit dans les champs quelques [65] Iroquois en ambuscade, qui n'espioient que l'occasion de faire vn coup aux despens de la vie de quelque passant. Ceste Nation est fort craintue, ils ne se tiennent pas sur leur garde, ils n'ont pas quasi le foin de preparer des armes & de fermer de pieux leurs villages; leurs recours ordinaire, principalement quand l'ennemy est puissant, est à la fuite. Dans ces alarmes de tout le Pays ie vous laisse à penser si nous auons fuiet nous autres de nous tenir en assurance.

ment, despite all your care to prevent accidents, the malice of the Savages gives especial cause for almost perpetual fear; a malcontent may burn you down, or cleave your head open in some lonely spot. And then you are responsible for the sterility or fecundity of the earth, under penalty of your life; you are the cause of droughts; if you cannot make rain, they speak of nothing less than making away with you. I have only to mention, in addition, the danger there is from our enemies; it is enough to say that, on the thirteenth of this month of June, they killed twelve of our Hurons near the village of Contarrea,⁸ which is only a day's journey from us; that a short time before, at four leagues from our village, some Iroquois were discovered in the fields [65] in ambuscade, only waiting to strike a blow at the expense of the life of some passer-by. This Nation is very timid,—they take no precautions against surprise, they are not careful to prepare arms or to inclose their villages with palisades; their usual recourse, especially when the enemy is powerful, is flight. Amid these alarms, which affect the whole Country, I leave you to imagine if we have any grounds for a feeling of safety.

After all, if we had here the exterior attractions of piety, as they exist in France, all this might pass. In France the great multitude and the good example of Christians, the solemnity of the Feasts, the majesty of the Churches so magnificently adorned, preach piety to you; and in the Houses of our order the fervor of our brethren, their modesty, and all the noble virtues which shine forth in all their actions, are so many powerful voices which cry to you without ceasing, *respice, et fac similiter*. You have the consolation of celebrating every day the holy Mass; in a

Or apres tout, si nous estions icy pour les attraites exterieurs de la pieté, comme en France, encore feroit-ce. En France la grande multitude, & le bon exemple des Chrestiens, la celebrite des Festes, la maiesté des Eglises si bien parées vous preschent la pieté; & dans nos Maisons la ferueur des nostres, leur modestie, & tant de belles vertus qui éclatent en toutes leurs actions, font autant de voix puissantes qui vous crient sans cesse, *respice, & fac similiter*. Vous avez la consolation de celebrer tous les iours la sainte Messe; en vn mot vous estes quasi hors des dangers de tomber, ou au moins les cheutes ne font que fort legeres, & vous avez incontinent les secours en main. Icy nous n'auons rien, ce semble, qui [66] porte au bien; Nous sommes parmy des Peuples qui s'estonnent quand vous leur parlez de Dieu, qui n'ont fouuent que d'horribles blasphemes en la bouche. Souuent il vous faudra vous priuer du saint Sacrifice de la Messe, & quand vous aurez la commodité de la dire, vn petit coing de vostre Cabane vous seruira de Chapelle, que la fumée, la neige, ou la pluye vous empeschent d'orner & embellir, quand mesme vous auriez dequoy. Je laisse à part le peu de moyen qu'il y a de vous recolliger parmy des Barbares, qui ne vous quittent presque point, qui ne sçauent ce que c'est de parler bas. Sur tout ie n'oferois parler des dangers de se perdre parmi leurs impuretez, à qui n'a le cœur plein de Dieu, pour reietter fortement ce poison. En voila bien assez, le reste se cognoist en l'experience.

Mais quoy, me dira quelqu'un, n'y a-il que cela? Pensez-vous par vos raisons auoir ietté de l'eau sur le feu qui me brule, & diminué tant soit peu le zele

word, you are almost beyond the danger of falling,—at least, the falls are insignificant, and you have help immediately at hand. Here we have nothing, it seems, which [66] incites towards good; we are among Peoples who are astonished when you speak to them of God, and who often have only horrible blasphemies in their mouths. Often you are compelled to deprive yourself of the holy Sacrifice of the Mass; and, when you have the opportunity to say it, a little corner of your Cabin will serve you for a Chapel, which the smoke, the snow, or the rain hinders you from ornamenting and embellishing, even if you had the means. I pass over the small chance of seclusion there is among Barbarians, who scarcely ever leave you, who hardly know what it is to speak in a low tone. Especially I would not dare to speak of the danger there is of ruining oneself among their impurities, in the case of any one whose heart is not sufficiently full of God to firmly resist this poison. But enough of this; the rest can only be known by experience.

“But is that all?” some one will exclaim. “Do you think by your arguments to throw water on the fire that consumes me, and lessen ever so little the zeal I have for the conversion of these Peoples? I declare that these things have served only to confirm me the more in my vocation; that I feel myself more carried away than ever by my affection for New France, and that I bear a holy jealousy [67] towards those who are already enduring all these sufferings; all these labors seem to me nothing, in comparison with what I am willing to endure for God; if I knew a place under Heaven where there was yet more to be suffered, I would go there.” Ah! whoever you

que i'ay pour la conuerſion de ces Peuples? Je vous declare que cela n'a feruy qu'à me confirmer dauantage dans ma vocation, que ie me ſens plus porté que iamais d'affection pour la Nouvelle France, & que ie porte vne ſaincte enuie [67] à ceux qui font deſia priſes avec toutes ces ſouffrances; tous ces trauaux ne me ſembent rien en comparaifon de ce que ie voudrois endurer pour Dieu; ſi ie ſçauois vn lieu ſous le Ciel où on ſouffriſt encor dauantage ie voudrois y aller. Ah qui que vous ſoyez à qui Dieu donne ces ſentimens & ces lumieres, venez, venez, mon cher Frere, ce ſont des ouriers tels que vous eſtes que nous demandons icy; c'eſt à des ames ſemblables à la voſtre, que Dieu a deſtiné la conqueſte de tant d'autres que le Diable tient encor maintenant en ſa puiffance; n'apprehendez aucunes difficultez, il n'y en aura point pour vous, puis que toute voſtre conſolation eſt de vous voir crucifié avec le Fils de Dieu; le ſilence vous fera doux, puis que vous auez appris à vous entretenir avec Dieu, & à conuerſer dans les Cieux avec les Saints, & les Anges: les viâdes ſeroient bien inſipides ſi le fiel de noſtre Seigneur ne vous les rendoit plus douces & plus ſauoureuſes que les mets les plus delicieux du monde. Quel contentement d'aller par ces faults, & de grauir ſur les roches, à celui qui a deuant les yeux cét aymable Sauueur haraffé de tourmens, & montant le Caluaire chargé de ſa Croix; [68] l'incommodité du Canot eſt bien aiſée à ſouffrir à qui le conſiderera crucifié. Quelle conſolation? car il faut que i'vſe de ces termes, autrement ie ne vous ferois pas plaifir; quelle conſolation donc de ſe voir meſme par les chemins abandonné des Sauuages, languir de maladie, ou mourir de faim

are to whom God gives these sentiments and this light, come, come, my dear Brother, it is workmen such as you that we ask for here; it is to souls like yours that God has appointed the conquest of so many other souls whom the Devil holds yet in his power; apprehend no difficulties,—there will be none for you, since it is your whole consolation to see yourself crucified with the Son of God; silence will be sweet to you, since you have learned to commune with God, and to converse in the Heavens with Saints and Angels; the victuals would be very insipid if the gall endured by our Lord did not render them sweeter and more savory to you than the most delicious viands of the world. What a satisfaction to pass these rapids, and to climb these rocks, to him who has before his eyes that loving Savior, harassed by his tormentors and ascending Calvary laden with his Cross; [68] the discomfort of the Canoe is very easy to bear, to him who considers the crucified one. What a consolation!—for I must use such terms, as otherwise I could not give you pleasure—what a consolation, then, to see oneself even abandoned on the road by the Savages, languishing with sickness, or even dying with hunger in the woods, and of being able to say to God, “My God, it is to do your holy will that I am reduced to the state in which you see me,”—considering above all that God-man who expires upon the Cross and cries to his Father, *Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me*. If God among all these hardships preserve you in health, no doubt you will arrive pleasantly in the Huron country with these holy thoughts. *Suaviter navigat quem gratia Dei portat*.

And now, as regards a place of abode, food, and

dans les bois, & de pouuoir dire à Dieu; Mon Dieu c'est pour faire vostre sainte volonté que ie suis reduit au point où vous me voyez; fur tout confiderant cét homme-Dieu qui expire en la Croix, & crie à son Pere, *Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid dereliquisti me.* Que si Dieu parmy toutes ces incommoditez vous conferue en santé, sans doute vous arriueriez doucement au pays des Hurons dans ces saintes pensées. *Suauiter nauigat quem gratia Dei portat.*

Maintenant pour ce qui est de l'habitation, du viure, & du coucher, oferay-ie dire à vn cœur si genereux, & qui si mocque de tout ce que i'en ay touché cy-dessus; qu'encore bien que nous n'ayons en cecy gueres d'auantage par dessus les Sauvages, neantmoins ie ne sçay comment la diuine Bonté adoucit tout ce qu'il y pourroit auoir de difficile, & tous tant que nous sommes nous trouuons tout cela quasi aussi peu étrange [69] que la vie de France. Le sommeil que nous prenons couchez sur nos nattes, nous semble aussi doux que dans vn bon lit; les viandes du Pays ne nous dégoustent point, quoy qu'il n'y ait gueres d'autre assaisonnement que celui que Dieu y a mis, & nonobstant les froidures d'un hyuer de six mois passé à l'abry d'une Cabane d'écorces percée à iour, nous sommes encor à en ressentir les effets, personne ne s'est plaint de mal de teste ou d'estomac; nous ne sçauons ce que c'est que fluxions, reumes, catarres; ce qui me fait dire que les delicats n'entendent rien en France à se defendre contre le froid; ces chambres si bien tapissées, ces portes si bien ioinctes, & ces fenestres fermées avec tant de foin, ne seruent qu'à en faire ressentir des effets plus cuifans; c'est vn ennemy avec lequel on gagne quasi plus à luy tendre

beds,—shall I dare to say to a heart so generous, and that mocks at all that of which I have already spoken, that truly, even though we have hardly more of those necessities than the Savages have, still, I know not how, the divine Goodness renders every difficult thing easy; and all and every one of us find everything almost as comfortable [69] as life is in France. The sleep we get lying on our mats seems to us as sweet as if we were in a good bed; the food of the Country does not disgust us, although there is scarcely any other seasoning than that which God has put into it; and, notwithstanding the cold of a winter six months long, passed in the shelter of a bark Cabin open to the daylight, we have still to experience its evil effects; no one complains of his head or his stomach; we do not know what diarrhœa, colds, or catarrh are. This leads me to say that delicate persons do not know, in France, how to protect themselves from the cold; those rooms so well carpeted, those doors so well fitted, and those windows closed with so much care, serve only to make its effects more keenly felt; it is an enemy from whom one wins almost more by holding out one's hands to him than by waging a cruel war upon him. As to our food, I shall say this further, that God has shown his Providence very clearly to our eyes; we have obtained in eight days our provision of corn for a whole year, without making a single step beyond our Cabin. They have brought us dried fish in such quantities that we are constrained to refuse some of it, and to say [70] that we have sufficient; you might say that God, seeing we are here only for his service, in order that all our work may be for him, wishes to act himself as our provider. This same Goodness takes care

les bras, qu'à luy faire vne si cruelle guerre. Pour le viure, ie diray encor cecy, que Dieu nous a fait paroistre à l'œil sa Prouidence tres-particuliere, nous auons fait en huict iours nostre prouision de bled pour toute l'année, fans faire vn feul pas hors nostre Cabane; on nous apporte aussi du poisson sec en telle quantité, que nous sommes contraincts d'en refuser, & de dire [70] que nous en auons assez; vous diriez que Dieu voyant que nous ne sommes icy que pour son seruice, afin que nous ne trauaillions que pour luy, nous vueille luy mesme seruir de pour[u]oyeur. Ceste mesme Bonté ne laisse pas de nous donner de temps en temps quelques rafraichissemens de poissō frais. Nous sommes sur le bord d'un grād Lac qui en porte d'assèz bons que i'aye gueres veu, ou mangé en France; il est vray, comme i'ay desia dit, que nous n'en faisons point d'ordinaire; & encore moins de la chair, qui se void icy plus rarement. Les fruicts mesmes selon la saison, pourueu que l'année soit vn peu fauorable, ne nous māquent point, les fraises, les framboises & les meures y sont en telle quantité qu'il n'est pas croyable. Nous y cueillons force raisins, & assez bons, les citrouilles nous durent quelquesfois les quatre & cinq mois, mais en telle abondance qu'elles se donnēt presque pour rien; & si bonnes qu'estant cuites dans les cendres, elles se mangent comme on fait les pommes en France: de sorte qu'à vray dire, pour ce qui touche les viures nous nous pouuons fort aisément passer de la France; le feul bled du Pays est vne nourriture suffisante quand on y est vn peu habitué; [71] les Sauuages l'apprestent en plus de vingt façons, & ne se seruent cependant que de feu & d'eau; il est vray que la meilleure faulce est celle qu'il porte avec foy.

to give us from time to time a change of provisions in the shape of fresh fish. We live on the shore of a great Lake, which affords as good fish as I have ever seen or eaten in France; true, as I have said, we do not ordinarily procure them, and still less do we get meat, which is even more rarely seen here. Fruits even, according to the season, provided the year be somewhat favorable, are not lacking to us; strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries are to be found in almost incredible quantities. We gather plenty of grapes, which are fairly good; the squashes last sometimes four and five months, and are so abundant that they are to be had almost for nothing, and so good that, on being cooked in the ashes, they are eaten as apples are in France.⁹ Consequently, to tell the truth, as regards provisions, the change from France is not very great; the only grain of the Country is a sufficient nourishment, when one is somewhat accustomed to it. [71] The Savages prepare it in more than twenty ways and yet employ only fire and water; it is true that the best sauce is that which it carries with it.¹⁰

As for the dangers of the soul, to speak frankly, there are none for him who brings to the Country of the Hurons the fear and love of God; on the contrary, I find unparalleled advantages for acquiring perfection. Is it not a great deal to have, in one's food, clothing, and sleep, no other attraction than bare necessity? Is it not a glorious opportunity to unite oneself with God, when there is no creature whatsoever that gives you reason to spend your affection upon it? when the exercises you practice constrain you without force to inward meditation? Besides your spiritual exercises, you have no other employ-

Pour les dangers de l'ame à parler nettement, il n'y en a point pour celuy qui apporte aux Pays des Hurons la crainte & l'amour de Dieu; au contraire i'y trouue des aduantages nompareils pour acquerir la perfection. N'est-ce pas defia beaucoup de n'auoir dans le viure, le vestir & le coucher aucun attrait que la simple neceffité? N'est-ce pas vne belle occasion de s'vnir à Dieu, quand il n'y a creature quelconque qui vous donne fuiet de vous y attacher d'affection? quand les exercices que vous pratiquez vous obligent fans violence à la recollection interieure? Outre vos exercices fpirituels vous n'avez point d'autre employ que l'estude de la langue, & la conuerfation avec les Sauuages. Ah! qu'il y a de plaifir pour vn cœur felon Dieu de se faire le petit Efcolier d'un Sauuage, & d'un petit enfant pour les gagner par apres à Dieu, & les rēdre Difciples de nôtre Seigneur! Que Dieu se communique volontiers, & liberalement à vne ame qui pratique pour fon amour ces actes heroïques [72] d'humilité; autant de mots qu'il apprend ce luy font autant de threfors qu'il amaffe, autant de despoüilles qu'il enleue fur l'ennemy commun du genre humain; de forte qu'il auroit fuiet de dire cent fois le iour, *Lætabor super eloquia tua tanquam qui inuenit spolia multa*. Pour ceste confideration les viſites des Sauuages, quoy que frequentes, ne luy peuuent eſtre importunes; Dieu luy apprend ceste belle leçon qu'il fit autrefois à Sainte Catherine de Sienne, de luy faire vn cabinet ou vn temple de fon cœur, où il ne manque iamais de le trouuer toutes & quantesfois qu'il s'y retire: que s'il y rencontre des Sauuages, ils ne luy apportent aucun trouble dans ſes prieres, ils ne ſeruent qu'à les rendre plus ſeruentes; il prend de là occasion

ment than the study of the language, and conversation with the Savages. Ah! how much pleasure there is for a heart devoted to God to make itself the little Scholar of a Savage and of a little child, thereby to gain them for God, and to render them Disciples of our Lord! How willingly and liberally God communicates himself to a soul which practices from love to him these heroic acts [72] of humility! The words he learns are so many treasures he amasses, so many spoils he carries off from the common enemy of the human race; so that he has reason to say a hundred times a day, *Lætabor super eloquia tua tanquam qui invenit spolia multa*. Viewed in this light, the visits of the Savages, however frequent, cannot be annoying to him. God teaches him the beautiful lesson he taught formerly to Saint Catherine of Sienna, to make of his heart a room or temple for him, where he will never fail to find him, as often as he withdraws into it; that, if he encounters Savages there, they do not interfere with his prayers, they serve only to make them more fervent; from this he takes occasion to present these poor wretches to this sovereign Goodness, and to entreat him warmly for their conversion.

Certainly we have not here that exterior solemnity which awakens and sustains devotion. Only what is essential in our Religion is visible, the holy Sacrament of the Altar, to the marvels of which we must open the eyes of our Faith without being aided by any sensible mark of its grandeur, any more than the [73] Magi were in the stable. But it seems that God, supplying what we lack,—and as a recompense of grace that he has given us in transporting it, so to speak, beyond so many seas, and in finding a place

de presenter ces pauvres miserables à ceste souveraine Bonté, & la supplier instamment pour leur conversion.

Il est certain que nous n'avons point icy cet appareil extérieur, qui réveille & entretient la dévotion. Nous n'y voyons proprement que le substantiel de nostre Religion, le saint Sacrement de l'Autel, où il faut que nostre Foy ouvre les yeux sur ses merveilles, sans y estre aidée d'aucune marque sensible de sa grandeur, non plus que les [73] Mages iadis en l'estable. Mais il semble que Dieu suppleant à ce qui nous manque, & comme en recompense de la faveur qu'il nous a faite de le transporter, pour ainsi dire, au deçà de tant de mers, & de luy avoir trouvé place dans ces pauvres Cabanes, nous vueille combler des mêmes bénédictions parmy ces Peuples infidèles, dont il a accoustumé de favoriser quelques Catholiques persécutés en Pays hérétique. Ces bonnes gens ne voyent gueres ny d'Eglises ny d'Autels; mais ce peu qu'ils en voyent leur sert au double de ce qu'il feroit en pleine liberté. Quelle consolation à vostre avis de se prosterner par fois devant une Croix au milieu de ceste Barbarie? de porter les yeux & pénétrer au milieu de nos petites fonctions domestiques, jusques au département que le Fils de Dieu a daigné prendre dans nostre petite habitation? N'est-ce pas estre en Paradis jour & nuit, de n'estre séparé de ce Bien-aimé des Nations, que de quelque escorce ou branche d'arbre? *En ipse stat post parietem nostrum. Sub umbra illius quem desideraveram, sedi.* Voilà pour le dedans. Sortons-nous hors du logis, le Ciel nous est ouvert, & ces grands bâtimens, qui portent leur teste dans les [74] nuës, au milieu des bonnes villes ne nous en dérobent point la vue; de façon que nous

for it in these poor Cabins,—wishes to crown us with the same blessings, in the midst of these infidel Peoples, with which he is accustomed to favor persecuted Catholics in the Countries of heretics. These good people scarcely ever see either Church or Altar; but the little they see is worth double what they would see in full liberty. What consolation would there be, in your opinion, in prostrating ourselves at times before a Cross in the midst of this Barbarism! to turn our eyes toward, and to enter, in the midst of our petty domestic duties, even into the room which the Son of God has been pleased to take in our little dwelling. Is it not to be in Paradise day and night, that we are not separated from this Well-beloved of the Nations except by some bark or the branch of a tree? *En ipse stat post parietem nostrum. Sub umbra illius quem desideraveram, sedi.* See what we have within. If we go outside our cabin, Heaven is open to us; and those great buildings which lift their heads to the [74] clouds, in large cities, do not conceal it from our view; so that we can say our prayers in full liberty before the noble Oratory that saint François Xavier loved better than any other. If the question is of the fundamental virtues, I will glory not in myself, but in the share which has fallen to me; or, if I must, acknowledge it humbly beside the Cross which our Lord in his grace gives us to bear after him. Certain it is that this Country, or our work here, is much more fitted to feed the soul with the fruits of Heaven than with the fruits of earth. I may be deceiving myself, but I imagine that here is a grand means of increasing the soul in Faith, in Hope, and in Charity. Should we scatter the seeds of the Faith without ourselves profiting by them?

pouons faire nos prieres en toute liberté deuant ce bel Oratoire, que sainct François Xauier aymoît mieux qu'aucun autre. Que s'il est question des vertus au fonds, ie me glorifieray, non pas en moy, mais au partage qui m'est escheu, ou s'il faut le recognoistre humblement au costé de la Croix, que nostre Seigneur de sa grace nous donne à porter apres foy; il est certain que ce Pays, ou l'employ que nous y auons, est beaucoup plus propre à engraisser vne ame des fruicts du Ciel, que de ceux de la terre. Ie ne sçay si ie me trompe, si est-ce que ie me represente, qu'il y a beau moyë d'y croistre en la Foy, en l'Espérance, & en la Charité. Y ietterions-nous la semence de la Foy sans en profiter pour nous? Seroit-il possible que nous missions nostre confiance hors de Dieu en vne Region, où du costé des hommes toutes choses nous manquent? Pourrions-nous fouhaitter vne plus belle occasion d'exercer la Charité, que dans les aspretez & mes-aïses d'un monde nouveau, que pas vn art ny industrie humaine n'a encore pourueu d'aucune commodité? & d'y viure pour ramener à Dieu des hommes si [75] peu hommes, qu'il faut s'attendre iournallemēt de mourir de leur main, si la fantaisie leur en prend, si vn songe les y porte, si nous ne leur fermons & ne leur ouurons le Ciel à discretion, leur donnant la pluye & le beau temps à commandement. Ne nous font-ils pas responfables de ces dispositions de l'air? & si Dieu ne nous inspire, ou que nous ne voulions pas cooperer à la foy des miracles; ne sommes nous pas continuellement en danger, comme ils nous en ont menacé, de les voir courir fus à ceux qui n'auront point le tort? Certes si celui qui est la Verité mesme ne l'auoit aduancé, qu'il n'y

Could we put our confidence anywhere but in God in a Region where, as far as man is concerned, everything is lacking to us? Could we wish a nobler opportunity to exercise Charity than amid the roughness and discomfort of a new world, where no human art or industry has yet provided any conveniences? and to live here that we may bring back to God men who are so [75] unlike men that we must live in daily expectation of dying by their hand, should the fancy take them, should a dream suggest it to them, or should we fail to open or close the Heavens to them at discretion, giving them rain or fine weather at command. Do they not make us responsible for the state of the weather? And if God does not inspire us, or if we cannot work miracles by faith, are we not continually in danger, as they have threatened us, of seeing them fall upon those who have done no wrong? Indeed, if he who is the Truth itself had not declared that there is no greater love than to lay down one's life, verily and once for all, for one's friends, I should conceive it a thing equally noble, or even more so, to do what the Apostle said to the Corinthians, *Quotidie morior per vestram gloriam, fratres, quam habeo in Christo Jesu Domino nostro*, than to drag out a life full of misery, amid the frequent and ordinary dangers of an unforeseen death, which those whom you hope to save will procure for you. I call to mind occasionally what Saint François Xavier once wrote to Father Simon, and wish that it may please God to so act that at least the same thing may be said or written one [76] day even of us, although we may not be worthy of it. Here are the words: *Optimi è Moluco perferuntur nuntii, quippe in maximis ærumnis perpetuisque vitæ discriminibus, Joannes Beira eiusque socii*

a pas plus grande charité que de mourir par effect vne fois pour ses amis. Je conçois quelque chose d'égal ou de plus relevé, à faire ce que disoit l'Apostre aux Corinthiens. *Quotidie morior per vestram gloriam, fratres, quam habeo in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.* A traîner vne vie assez pénible dans des dangers assez fréquens & ordinaires d'une mort inopinée, que ceux-là vous procureront, que vous prétendiez sauver. Je me remets par fois en mémoire ce qu'écriuoit iadis Saint François Xavier au P. Simon, & souhaitte qu'il plaise à Dieu de faire en sorte que pour le moins on puisse dire ou écrire vn [76] iour le même de nous, quoy que nous n'en foyons pas dignes. Voici ses termes. *Optimi à Moluco perferuntur nuntij, quippe in maximis ærumnis perpetuisque vitæ discriminibus, Ioannes Beira eiusque socij versantur, magno cum Christianæ Religionis incremento.*

Vne chose, ce semble, auroit à donner icy de l'appréhension à vn Enfant de la Compagnie, de se voir au milieu d'un Peuple brutal & sensuel, de qui l'exemple pourroit ternir le lustre de la vertu la plus & la moins délicate d'entre toutes, qui n'en prendroit vn soin particulier, c'est la Chasteté.

Oseray-je dire pour effuyer ceste difficulté, que s'il y a lieu au monde où ceste vertu si précieuse soit en assurance, pour vn homme d'entre nous qui veut estre sur ses gardes, c'est icy. *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatē, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam. Sciui quoniam aliter non possem esse continens, nisi Deus det. Et hoc ipsum erat sapientia, scire cuius esset hoc donum.* On dit que les victoires que ceste Fille du Ciel emporte sur son ennemy, se gagnent en fuyant; mais je croy que c'est Dieu sans plus, qui fait fuyr ce même enne-

versantur, magno cum Christianæ Religionis incremento.

There seems to be one thing here which might give apprehension to a Son of the Society, to see himself in the midst of a brutal and sensual People, whose example might tarnish the luster of the most and the least delicate of all the virtues, unless especial care be taken — I mean Chastity.

In order to obviate this difficulty, I make bold to say that if there is any place in the world where this so precious virtue is safe, for a man among us who wishes to be on his guard, it is here. *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustrà vigilat qui custodit eam. Scivi quoniam aliter non possem esse continens, nisi Deus det. Et hoc ipsum erat sapientia, scire cujus esset hoc donum.* It is said that the victories which this Daughter of Heaven gains over her enemies, are gained by flight; but I believe it is God and no one else who puts to flight this very enemy in the most severe encounters, before those who, fearing nothing so much as his approaches, go with bowed heads, and [77] hearts full of confidence in his Goodness, where his glory calls them. And where should we seek this glory? I should say, where find it more fully purified and disentangled from our own interests, than in a place where there is nothing more to be hoped for than the reward of having left all for the love of him of whom St. Paul said, *Scio cui credidi.* You remember that plant, named “the fear of God,” with which it is said our Fathers at the beginning of our Society charmed away the spirit of impurity; it does not grow in the land of the Hurons, but it falls there abundantly from Heaven, if one has but a little care to cultivate that which he brings here. Barbarism, ignorance, poverty, and misery, which render the life

my aux plus grandes occasions, deuant ceux qui ne craignans rien tant que les approches, vont la teste baiffée, & le [77] cœur plein de confiance en sa Bonté, où sa gloire les appelle. Et où pourrions nous chercher ceste gloire? ie diray mieux, où la trouuer plus épurée & desgagée de nos propres interests; qu'en vn lieu auquel il n'y a rien à esperer que la recompense de les auoir tous quittés pour l'amour de celui, de qui S. Paul disoit. *Scio cui credidi*. Vous fouuient-il de ceste herbe, nommée la crainte de Dieu, dont on disoit au commencement de nostre Compagnie, que nos Peres charmoient l'esprit d'impureté; elle ne croist point dans la terre des Hurôs, mais il y en tombe du Ciel à foison; si peu qu'on soit soigneux d'y cultiuer celle qu'on y apporte. La barbarie, l'ignorance, la pauvreté & la misere, qui rend la vie de ces Sauvages plus déplorable que la mort, nous est vne leçon continuelle, de regretter la cheute d'Adam, & de nous soufmettre entierement à celui qui chastie encore sa defobeyffance en ses enfans, d'une façon si remarquable, apres tant de siecles. Sainte Therese disoit autrefois, qu'elle ne se trouuoit iamais mieux en ses meditations, que dans les mysteres où elle trouuoit nostre Seigneur à l'escart, & sans compagnie, cōme si elle eust esté au iardin des Oliues. Et [78] elle appelloit cela vne de ses simplitez. On comptera cecy si l'on veut parmy mes sotises; mais il me semble que nous auons icy d'autant plus de loisir pour caresser, par maniere de dire, & entretenir nostre Seigneur à cœur ouuert, au milieu de ces terres inhabitées, que moins il y a de personnes qui s'en mettent en peine. Et moyennant ceste faueur, nous pouuons dire hardimēt, *Non timebo*

of these Savages more deplorable than death, are a continual reminder to us to mourn Adam's fall, and to submit ourselves entirely to him who still chastises disobedience in his children, in so remarkable a way, after so many centuries. Saint Theresa said once that she never found her meditations more profitable than in the mysteries in which she found our Lord apart and alone, as if she had been in the garden of Olives; and [78] she called this a part of her simplicity. You may reckon this among my follies, if you like; but it seems to me that we have here so much the more leisure to caress, so to speak, and to entertain our Lord with open heart, in the midst of these uninhabited lands, because there are so few people who trouble themselves about him. And, on account of this favor, we can boldly say, *Non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es*. In short, I imagine that all the Guardian Angels of these neglected and abandoned Nations are continually endeavoring and laboring to save us from these dangers. They know well that if there were anything in the world that ought to give us wings, to fly back whence we came both by obedience and by our own inclination, it would be this misfortune, if we were not shielded from it by the protection of Heaven. This is what excites them to procure for us the means to guard against it, that they may not lose the brightest hope they have ever had, by the grace of God, of the conversion of these Peoples.

I finish this discourse and this Chapter with this sentence: If, at the sight of the difficulties and Crosses that are here prepared for us, some one feels himself so fortified from above that he [79] can say it is too little, or like St. François Xavier, *Amplius*,

mala, quoniam tu mecum es. Bref ie me reprefente que tous les Anges Gardiens de ces Nations incultes & delaiffées, font continuellement en peine & en action, pour nous fauuer de ces dangers. Ils fçauent bien que s'il y auoit chofe au monde qui nous deuft donner des aïles, pour retourner d'où nous fommes venus, & par obeyffance, & par inclination propre, ce feroit ce malheur, fi nous n'en eftions à couuert fous la protection du Ciel. C'est ce qui les réueille à nous en procurer les moyens, pour ne perdre la plus belle efpérance qu'ils ayent iamais euë par la grace de Dieu, de la conuerfion de ces Peuples.

Ie finis ce difcours & ce Chapitre avec ce mot. Si dans la veüë des peines & des Croix qui nous font icy préparées, quelqu'un fe fent fi fortifié d'en-haut, que de [79] pouuoir dire que c'est trop peu, ou comme S. François Xauier, *Amplius, amplius*; i'efpere que noftre Seigneur tirera auffi de fa bouche au milieu des confolations qu'il luy donnera, cefte autre confeffion, que ce fera trop pour luy, qu'il n'en pourra plus. *Satis eft, Domine, fatis eft.*

ampliùs, I hope that our Lord will also draw from his lips this other confession, in the midst of the consolations he will give him, that it will be too much for him, that he cannot endure more. *Satis est, Domine, satis est.*

CHAPITRE IV.

DE LA LANGUE DES HURONS.

C'E n'est que pour en donner quelque petit avant-goust, & en marquer quelques particularitez, attendant vne Grammaire, & vn Dictionnaire entier.

Ils ont vne lettre dont nous n'auons point la pareille, nous l'exprimons par Khi, l'usage en est commun aux Montagnés & Algonquins. Ils ne cognoissent point de B. F. L. M. P. X. Z. & iamais I. E. V. ne leur font consones. La plus part de leurs mots sont composez de voyelles. Toutes les lettres labiales leur manquent; c'est volontiers la cause qu'ils ont tous les lévres ouuertes de si mauuaise grace, & qu'à peine les entend-t'on [80] quand ils sifflent, ou qu'ils parlent bas. Comme ils n'ont presque ny vertu, ny Religion, ny science aucune, ou police, aussi n'ont-ils aucuns mots simples propres à signifier tout ce qui en est. Delà est que nous demeurôs courts à leur expliquer plusieurs belles choses tirées de ces cognoissances. Les mots composez leur sont plus en usage, & ont la mesme force que l'adiectif & substantif joints ensemble parmy nous. *Andatarafé*, pain frais *Achitetfi*, vn pied long. La variété de ces noms composez est tres-grande, & c'est la clef du secret de leur Langue. Ils ont diuersité de genres comme nous, de nombre comme les Grecs. De plus vne certaine déclinaison relative qui enveloppe tousiours

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE HURONS.

THIS is only to give some little foretaste of the language, and notice some of its peculiarities, in anticipation of a Grammar and a complete Dictionary.

They have a letter to which we have nothing to correspond—we express it by Khi; the use of it is common to the Montagnés and to the Algonquins. They are not acquainted with B. F. L. M. P. X. Z; and I. E. V. are never consonants to them. The greater part of their words are composed of vowels. They lack all the labial letters. This is probably the reason why they all open their lips so awkwardly, and why we can scarcely understand them [80] when they whistle or when they speak low. As they have hardly any virtue or Religion, or any learning or government, they have consequently no simple words suitable to express what is connected with these. Hence it is that we are at a loss in explaining to them many important matters, depending upon a knowledge of these things. Compound words are most in use with them, and have the same force as the adjective and substantive joined together, among us. *Andatarasé*, fresh bread; *Achitetsi*, a foot long. The variety of these compound nouns is very great, and that is the key to the secret of their Language. They have, like us, a diversity of genders; and, like the Greeks, of number; besides a certain

avec foy le pronom poffeffif, *meus, tuus, fuus*, par exemple, *iatacan*, mon frere, *aiatacan*, mes freres, *fatacan*, ton frere, *tsátacan*, tes freres, *otacan*, fon frere, *atotacan*, fes freres.

Pour les cas ils les ont tous, ou les fuppléent par des particules fort propres.

La merueille eft que tous leurs noms vniuerfellement fe coniuguent; par exemple, *Affé*, il eft frais, *affé chen*, il eftoit frais, *gaon*, vieux, *agaon*, il eft vieux, *agaonc*, il eftoit vieux, *agaonha*, il va deuenir vieux; & ainfi [81] du reſte. De meſme en eft-il de ce mot *iatacan*, qui ſignifie, mon frere, *oniatacan*, nous ſommes freres, *oniatacan ehen*, nous eſtions freres; cela eft riche. Voicy qui ne l'eſt gueres. Vn nom relatif parmy eux enueloppe touſiours la ſignification d'une des trois perſonnes du pronom poffeffif, ſi bien qu'ils ne peuuent dire ſimplement, Pere, Fils, Maiftre, Valet, mais ſont contraincts de dire l'un des trois, mon pere, ton pere, fon pere. Quoy que i'aye traduit cy-deuant en vne Oraifon vn de leurs noms par celui de Pere, pour plus grande facilité. Suiuant cela nous trouuons empeschez de leur faire dire proprement en leur Langue, *Au nom du Pere, & du Fils, & du ſainct Eſprit*. Iugeriez-vous à propos, en attendãt mieux, de ſubſtituer au lieu, *Au nom de noſtre Pere, & de ſon Fils, & de leur ſainct Eſprit*. Certes il ſemble que les trois Perſonnes de la tres-ſaincte Trinité feroient ſuffiſamment exprimées en ceſte façon, la troiſieſme eſtant en effect l'Eſprit ſainct de la premiere & de la ſeconde; la ſeconde, le Fils de la premiere; & la premiere, noſtre Pere, aux termes de l'Apoſtre, qui luy affecte ces propres mots aux Ephes. 3. Adiouſtez que noſtre Seigneur a donné exemple de ceſte

relative declension which always includes in itself the possessive pronoun, *meus*, *tuus*, *suus*,—for example, *Iatacan*, my brother, *aiatacan*, my brothers; *satacan*, thy brother; *tsátacan*, thy brothers; *otacan*, his brother, *atotacan*, his brothers.

As to cases, they have them all, or supply them by very appropriate particles.

The astonishing thing is that all their words are universally conjugated, for example, *Assé*, it is fresh, *assé chen*, it was fresh; *gaon*, old, *agaon*, he is old, *agaonc*, he was old, *agaonha*, he is growing old; and so [81] with the rest. It is the same with that word *iatacan*, which means, my brother; *oniatacan*, we are brothers, *oniatacan ehen*, we were brothers; that is copious. Here is one which is not so. A relative noun with them includes always the meaning of one of the three persons of the possessive pronoun, so that they can not say simply, Father, Son, Master, Valet, but are obliged to say one of the three, my father, thy father, his father. However, I have translated above in a Prayer one of their nouns by the word Father, for greater clearness. On this account, we find ourselves hindered from getting them to say properly in their Language, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost*. Would you judge it fitting, while waiting a better expression, to substitute instead, *In the name of our Father, and of his Son, and of their holy Ghost*? Certainly it seems that the three Persons of the most holy Trinity would be sufficiently expressed in this way, the third being in truth the holy Spirit of the first and of the second; the second being Son of the first; and the first, our Father, in the terms of the Apostle, who applies to him those fitting words in Ephesians 3. It may

façon [82] de parler, non feulement en l'Oraison Dominicale, ainſi que nous la nommons pour ſon reſpect; mais auſſi commandant à la Magdelaine, en ſainct Iean 20. de porter de ſa part ces beaux mots à ſes Freres ou Diſciples. *Il monte à mon Pere & au voſtre.* Oferions-nous en vſer ainſi, iuſqu'à ce que la langue Huronne ſoit enrichie, ou l'eſprit des Hurons ouuert à d'autres langues? nous ne ferons rien ſans confeil.

Or à propos de ce nom de *Pere*, ie ne veux pas oublier la difficulté qui s'eſt auſſi rencontrée à faire dire, *Noſtre Pere qui eſt aux Cieux*, à ceux qui n'en auoient point ſur terre; leur parler des morts qu'ils ont aymé, c'eſt les iniurer. Peu s'en fallut qu'une femme à qui ſa mere eſtoit morte depuis peu, ne perdiſt tout à fait l'enuie de ſe faire baptiſer, ſur ce qu'on luy auoit aduancé par meſgarde, *Pere & Mere honoreras.*

Quant aux verbes ce qui eſt de plus remarquable en leur langue eſt; 1. Qu'ils en ont d'autres pour ſignifier des choſes animées, & d'autres pour celles qui ſont ſans vies. 2. Qu'ils varient leurs temps en autant de façons que les Grecs; leurs nombres auſſi, outre que la premiere perſonne tant du duel que du plurier, eſt encor double, car [83] pour dire, par exemple, nous partons toy & moy, il faut dire, *kiaraſc8a*, & pour dire nous partons luy & moy, *aiaraſc8a*. De meſme au plurier, nous partons nous autres, pluſieurs, *a8araſc8a*, nous partons avec vous, *c8araſc8a*.

Outre tout cela il ſe remarque double coniugaifon, & ie croy que cecy eſt commun aux langues Americaines: l'une eſt ſimple & abſoluë ſemblable à nos coniugaifons Latine & François; Par exemple, ce verbe *ahiaton*, qui ſignifie eſcrire, ſe coniuge abſolu-

be added that our Lord has given example of this way [82] of speaking, not only in the Lord's Prayer, as we call it from respect to him, but by way of commandment to Mary Magdalaine in saint John 20. to bear from him these beautiful words to his Brethren or Disciples, *I ascend to my Father and to yours*. Would we venture to employ it thus until the Huron language shall be enriched, or the mind of the Hurons opened to other languages? We will do nothing without advice.

Now in connection with this name *Father* I must not forget the difficulty there is in teaching to say *Our Father who art in Heaven*, to those who have none on earth; to speak to them of the dead whom they have loved, is to insult them. A woman, whose mother had died a short time before, almost lost her desire to be baptized because the command, *Thou shalt honor thy Father and thy Mother*, had been inadvertently quoted to her.

As for the verbs, what is most remarkable in their language is: 1. That they have some to signify animate things, and others to signify things without life. 2. That they vary their tenses in as many ways as did the Greeks; their numbers also,—besides that the first person, of both the dual number and the plural, is, moreover, double; thus [83] to say “we set out, thou and I,” we must say *kiarascwa*, and to say “we set out, he and I,” *aiarascwa*. Likewise in the plural, “we, several of us, set out,” *awarascwa*; “we, together, set out,” *cwarascwa*.

Besides all this, there is to be noticed a double conjugation, and I believe that this is common to the American languages. The one is simple and absolute, like our Latin and French conjugations. For example, the verb *ahiaton*, meaning “to write,” is con-

ment de ceste façon; *ichiaton*, i'efcris, *chiehiatonc*, tu efcris, *ihahiatonc*, il efcrit, *a8ahiatonc*, nous efcriuons, *fc8ahiatonc*, vous efcriuez, *attihiatonc*, ils efcriuent.

L'autre façon de coniuguier fe peut nommer reciproque, d'autant que l'action fignifiée par le verbe fe termine toufiours à quelque perfonne, ou à quelque chofe; de forte que au lieu que nous difons en trois mots ie m'ayme, les Hurons difent feulement *iate-nonh8é*, ie t'ayme, *onnonh8é*, ie vous ayme tous deux, *inonh8é*, ie vous ayme vous plusieus, *8anonh8é*, & ainfi du reſte.

Ce que ie trouue de plus rare, eſt qu'il y a vne coniugaifon feminine, au moins en la troiſieſme perſonne, tant du ſingulier que [84] du pluriel; car nous n'en auons pas découuert dauantage, ou bien peu. En voicy vn exemple; *ihaton*, il dit *i8aton*, elle dit, *ihonton*, ils difent, *ionton*, elles difent. La principale diſtinction de ceste coniugaifon feminine d'avec la mafculine eſt le manquement de la lettre H. dont la mafculine abonde, peut-eſtre pour donner à entendre aux femmes qu'il ne doit y auoir rien d'aſpre ny de feure en leurs paroles, & en leurs mœurs, mais que la grace & la loy de clemence doiuent eſtre poſées ſur leurs langues, fuiuant ce traict du Sage, *lex clementiæ in lingua eius*. C'eſt aſſez de ce fuiet pour ceste heure, ſi ce n'eſt que quelqu'un ſoit bien ayſé d'apprendre auſſi quelque chofe de leur ſtile. Ils vſent de comparaifons, de mots du temps, & de proverbes aſſez ſouuent. En voicy vn des plus remarquables. *Tichiout etodtendi*; voila, difent-ils, l'eſtoile cheute, quand ils voyent quelqu'un qui eſt gras & en bon poinct; c'eſt qu'ils tiennent qu'un certain iour vne eſtoile tomba du Ciel en forme d'une Oye graſſe. *Amantes ſibi ſomnia fingunt*.

jugated absolutely in this way: *iehiaton*, I write; *chiehiatonc*, thou writest, *ihahiatonc*, he writes, *awahiatonc*, we write, *scwahiatonc*, you write, *attihiatonc*, they write.

The other method of conjugation may be called the reciprocal, inasmuch as the action signified by the verb terminates always on some person or thing; so that, instead of saying, as we do, in three words, "I love myself," the Hurons say only *iatenonhwe*; "I love thee," *onnonhwe*; "I love you both," *inonhwe*; "I love you" (several), *wanonhwe*, and so for the rest.

What I find most extraordinary is that there is a feminine conjugation, at least in the third person both of the singular and [84] of the plural; for we have not discovered more of it, or very little. Here is an example of it: *ihaton*, he says; *iwaton*, she says; *ihonton*, they say [masculine]; *ionton*, they say [feminine]. The principal distinction of this feminine conjugation from the masculine is the lack of the letter H, in which the masculine abounds,—perhaps to give the women to understand that there ought to be nothing rough or coarse in their words or in their manners, but that the grace and law of gentleness ought to be upon their tongues, following that rule of the Sage, *lex clementiæ in lingua ejus*. This is enough of this subject for the present, unless it be that some one may wish to hear something about their style. They use comparisons, time-words, and proverbs very often. Here is one of the most remarkable, *Tichiout etoâtendi*, "Behold," they say, "the fallen star," when they see some one who is fat and corpulent; for they hold that once upon a time a star fell from Heaven in the form of a fat Goose. *Aman-tes sibi somnia fingunt*.

[85] Seconde Partie.

De la creance, des mœurs & des coustumes des Hurons.

CHAPITRE PREMIER.

CE QUE PENSENT LES HURONS DE LEUR ORIGINE.

ON s'estonnera de voir tant d'aueuglement pour les choses du Ciel, en vn Peuple qui ne manque point de raifon & de lumiere, pour celles de la terre. C'est ce que leurs vices & leurs brutalitez leur ont merité enuers Dieu. Il y a quelque apparence qu'ils ont eu autrefois quelque connoissance du vray Dieu pardeffus la nature, comme il se peut remarquer en quelques circonstances de leurs fables; & quand ils n'en auroient point eu que celle que la Nature leur pouuoit fournir, encore eussent-ils deu estre plus raisonnables en ce fuiet, s'il ne leur fust [86] arriué selon le dire de l'Apostre. *Cùm cognouissent Deum, non sicut Deum glorificauerunt, aut gratias egerunt, sed euanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, & obscuratum est insipientis cor eorum.* Pour n'auoir pas voulu recognoistre Dieu en leurs mœurs & actions, ils en ont perdu la pensée, & sont deuenus pires que bestes pour son regard, & pour l'estime qu'ils en ont.

Or pour commencer par ce qui est comme le fondement de leur croyance, la plus part se vantent de

[85] Part Second.

On the belief, manners, and customs of the
Hurons.

CHAPTER FIRST.

WHAT THE HURONS THINK OF THEIR ORIGIN.

ONE is astonished to see so much blindness in regard to the things of Heaven, in a People who do not lack judgment and knowledge in reference to those of earth. This is what their vices and brutality have merited from God. There are some indications that they had formerly some more than natural knowledge of the true God, as may be remarked in some particulars of their fables; and even if they had had only that which Nature can furnish to them, still they ought to have been more reasonable on this subject, if it had not [86] happened to them according to the word of the Apostle, *Cùm cognovissent Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt, sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum*. For not having been willing to acknowledge God in their habits and actions, they have lost the thought of him and have become worse than beasts in his sight, and as regards the respect they have for him.

Now, to begin with the foundation of their belief,—

tirer leur origine du Ciel, ce qu'ils fondent sur ceste fable, qui passe parmy eux pour vne verité.

Ils recognoissent pour chef de leur Nation vne certaine femme qu'ils appellent *Ataentsic*, qui leur est, disent-ils, tombée du Ciel; car ils supposent que les Cieux estoient long-temps auparavant ceste merueille, & ne scauroient vous dire, ny quand, ny comment ces grands corps ont esté tirez des abysses du neant; ils supposent mesme que sur les voûtes des Cieux il y auoit, & y a encor maintenant, vne terre semblable à celle-cy, des bois, des lacs, des riuieres & des champs, comme nous auons icy bas, & des Peuples qui habitent ces terres. Ils ne s'accordent pas en la façon qu'arriua ceste cheute [87] si heureuse. Les vns disent qu'un iour qu'elle trauailloit dans son champ elle apperçeut un Ours, son chien se mit à le pourfuiure, & elle mesme apres: l'Ours se voyant pressé de prés, & ne cherchant qu'à esquiuier les dents du chien, tomba par mesgarde dans un trou; le chien le fuiuit, *Aataentsic*, s'estant approchée de ce precipice, voyant que ny l'Ours ny le chien ne paroissoient plus, touchée de desespoir, s'y ietta aussi; neantmoins sa cheute se trouua plus fauorable qu'elle n'eust pensé; car elle tomba icy bas dans les eaux sans se bleffer, quoy qu'elle fust enceinte, apres quoy les eaux s'estant afféchées peu à peu, la terre parut, & se rendit habitable.

Les autres attribuent ceste cheute à vne autre cause, qui semble auoir quelque rapport au fait d'Adam, mais le menfonge y a preualu. Ils disent que le mary d'*Aataentsic* estant fort malade songea qu'il falloit couper un certain arbre dont viuoient ceux qui demeuroient dans le Ciel, & qu'il n'auroit pas si tost

the greater part boast of deriving their origin from Heaven, which they found on the following fable, which passes among them for a truth.

They recognize as head of their Nation a certain woman whom they call *Ataentsic*, who fell among them, they say, from Heaven.¹¹ For they think the Heavens existed a long time before this wonder; but they cannot tell you when or how its great bodies were drawn from the abysses of nothing. They suppose, even, that above the arches of the Sky there was and still is a land like ours, with woods, lakes, rivers and fields, and Peoples who inhabit them. They do not agree as to the manner in which this so fortunate descent occurred. [87] Some say that one day, as she was working in her field, she perceived a Bear; her dog began to pursue it and she herself afterwards. The Bear, seeing himself closely pressed, and seeking only to escape the teeth of the dog, fell by accident into a hole; the dog followed him. *Aataentsic*, having approached this precipice, finding that neither the Bear nor the dog were any longer to be seen, moved by despair, threw herself into it also. Nevertheless, her fall happened to be more favorable than she had supposed; for she fell down into the waters without being hurt, although she was with child,—after which, the waters having dried up little by little, the earth appeared and became habitable.

Others attribute this fall to another cause, which seems to have some relation to the case of Adam, but falsehood makes up the greater part of it. They say that the husband of *Aataentsic*, being very sick, dreamed that it was necessary to cut down a certain tree from which those who abode in Heaven obtained their food; and that, as soon as he ate of the fruit,

mangé de son fruit qu'il feroit incontinent guery. *Aataentfic* cognoiffant la volonté de son mary, prend sa hache, & s'en va avec la resolution de n'en faire à deux fois, mais elle n'eut pas plustost assené le premier [88] coup, que l'arbre fondit en mesme temps presque sous ses pieds, & tomba icy bas, dequoy elle demeura si estonnée, qu'apres en avoir porté la nouvelle à son mary, elle retourna & se ietta apres. Or comme elle tōboit, la Tortuë leuant par hazard la teste hors de l'eau l'apperçeut, & ne sçachant à quoy se refoudre, estonnée qu'elle estoit de ceste merueille, elle appelle les autres animaux aquatiques pour prendre leurs auis ; les voila incontinent assemblez, elle leur monstre ce qu'elle voyoit, leur demande ce qu'ils iugent à propos de faire ; la plupart s'en rapportent au Castor, lequel par bienfiance remet le tout au iugemēt de la Tortuë, qui fut donc enfin d'avis qu'ils missent tous promptement la main à l'œuvre, qu'ils se plongeassent au fond de l'eau, & en apportassent de la terre, & la missent sur son dos. Aussi-tost dit, aussi-tost fait, & la femme tomba fort doucement sur ceste Isle. Quelque temps apres, comme elle estoit tombée enceinte, elle se deliura d'une fille, laquelle ne demeura gueres sans estre grosse, si vous leur demandez comment, vous les mettez bien en peine ; tant y-a, vous disent ils, qu'elle se trouua grosse ; quelques-vns en reiettent la cause sur quelques estrāgers [89] qui aborderent à ceste Isle. Je vous prie accordez cecy avec ce qu'ils disent, qu'avant qu'*Aataentfic* fust tombée du Ciel, il n'y avoit point d'hōmes sur la terre. Quoy que s'en soit elle enfanta deux garçons, *Taſiscaron* & *Iſskeha*, lesquels estant devenus grands eurent quelque pique par en-

he would be immediately healed. *Aataentsic*, knowing the desire of her husband, takes his axe and goes away with the resolution not to make two trips of it; but she had no sooner dealt the first [88] blow than the tree at once split, almost under her feet, and fell to this earth; whereupon she was so astonished that, after having carried the news to her husband, she returned and threw herself after it. Now, as she fell, the Turtle, happening to raise her head above water, perceived her; and, not knowing what to decide upon, astonished as she was at this wonder, she called together the other aquatic animals to get their opinion. They immediately assembled; she points out to them what she saw, and asks them what they think it fitting to do. The greater part refer the matter to the Beaver, who, through courtesy, hands over the whole to the judgment of the Turtle, whose final opinion was that they should all promptly set to work, dive to the bottom of the water, bring up soil to her, and put it on her back. No sooner said than done, and the woman fell very gently on this Island. Some time after, as she was with child when she fell, she was delivered of a daughter, who almost immediately became pregnant. If you ask them how, you puzzle them very much. At all events, they tell you, she was pregnant. Some throw the blame upon some strangers, [89] who landed on this Island. I pray you make this agree with what they say, that, before *Aataentsic* fell from the Sky, there were no men on earth. However that may be, she brought forth two boys, *Tawiscaron* and *Iouskeha*, who, when they grew up, had some quarrel with each other; judge if this does not relate in some way to the murder of Abel. They came to blows, but with very different

semble; iugez si cela ne ressent point quelque chose du maffacre d'Abel. Ils en vindrent aux mains; mais avec des armes bien differentes; *I8skeha* auoit le bois d'un Cerf, *Ta8ifcaron* se contenta de quelques fruits de rofier fauage, se perfuadant qu'il n'en auroit pas si tost frappé son frere, qu'il tomberoit mort à ses pieds; mais il en arriua tout autrement qu'il ne s'estoit promis, & *I8skeha* au contraire luy porta un si rude coup dans les flancs, que le sang en fortit en abôdance. Ce pauvre miserable se mist aussi-tost en fuite, & de son sang, dont ces terres furent arroufées, nasquirent certaines pierres semblables à celles dont nous nous seruons en France pour battre le fusil, que les Sauvages appellent encor aujourd'huy *Ta8iscara*, du nom de cet infortuné, son frere le poursuivit & l'acheua: voila ce que la plupart croyent de l'origine de ces Nations.

[90] Il y en a qui ne montent pas si haut, & ne sont pas ambitieux iusques à ce poinct, que de croire qu'ils aient tiré leur origine du Ciel. Ils disent qu'au commencement du monde la terre estoit toute couuerte d'eau, à la referue d'une petite Isle qui portoit toute l'esperance du genre humain, sçauoir est un seul homme, qui n'auoit pour toute compagnie qu'un Renard & un petit animal semblable à une Foüine, qu'ils appellent *Tf8hendaia*. L'homme ne sçachant que faire se voyant retranché dans une si petite étendue de pays inuita le Renard à se plonger dans l'eau pour voir s'il y auoit fonds, mais il ne se fut si tost mouillé les pattes qu'il se retira, craignant que ceste expérience ne luy coustast la vie. Dequoy l'homme s'estant indigné, *Teffandiö* tu n'as point d'esprit, luy dit-il, & le ietta dans l'eau d'un coup de pied, où il beut un

weapons. *Iouskeha* had the horns of a Stag; *Tawiscaron*, who contented himself with some fruits of the wild rosebush, was persuaded that, as soon as he had struck his brother, he would fall dead at his feet. But it happened quite differently from what he had expected; and *Iouskeha*, on the contrary, struck him so rude a blow in the side, that the blood came forth abundantly. This poor wretch immediately fled; and from his blood, with which the land was sprinkled, certain stones sprang up, like those we employ in France to fire a gun,—which the Savages call even to-day *Tawiscara*, from the name of this unfortunate. His brother pursued him, and finished him. This is what the greater part believe concerning the origin of these Nations.

[90] There are some who do not soar so high, and are not so ambitious as to believe that they derive their origin from Heaven. They say that, in the beginning of the world, the land was quite covered with water, with the exception of a little Island on which was the sole hope of the human race,—to wit, a single man, whose sole companions were a Fox and a little animal like a Marten, which they call *Tsouhendaia*. The man, not knowing what to do, seeing himself cut off in so narrow a range of country, asked the Fox to plunge into the water, to see if there were any bottom to it; but he had no sooner wet his paws than he drew back, fearing that this experience would cost him his life. Whereupon the man became indignant; “*Tessandion*, thou hast no sense,” he said to him, and kicked him into the water, where he drank a little more than his fill. However he did not desist from his design, and so encouraged the little animal that was now his sole companion, that it finally

peu plus que son faoul. Cependant il ne desista point de son dessein, & encouragea si bien ce petit animal qui luy restoit de compagnie, qu'il se resolut en fin de se plonger, & comme il ne s'imaginait pas qu'il y eust si peu de fond, il le fit si rudement, qu'il se heurta bien fort contre la terre, & en rapporta le muzeau tout couuert de vase; l'homme bien resiouy [91] de ceste heureuse descouverte, l'exhorte de continuer, & d'apporter de la terre pour croistre ceste Illette; ce qu'il fit avec tant d'affiduité, qu'il luy fit perdre son nom, & la changea en ces vastes campagnes que nous voyons. Si vous les pressez encor icy, & leur demandez ce qu'ils pensent de cet homme, qui luy a donné la vie? qui l'a mis sur ceste petite Ile? comment il a peu estre le pere de toutes ces Nations, puis qu'il estoit seul, & n'auoit point de compagnie; vous ne gagnerez rien de leur faire toutes ces questions, au moins n'aurez vous que ceste solution, qui ne seroit pas mauuaise, si leur Religion estoit bonne; *Nous ne sçauons, on le dit ainsi, nos Peres ne nous en ont pas enseigné davantage.* Que diriez vous à cela? tout ce que nous faisons c'est de leur tesmoigner que nous leur portons compassion de les voir dans vne si grossiere ignorance; nous prenons de là fuiet, quand nous les en iugeons capables, de leur expliquer quelques vns de nos Mysteres, & de leur monstrier combien ils sont conformes à la raison; ils les entendent fort volontiers, & en demeurent grandement satisfaits.

Mais pour retourner à *Aataentsic* & *Ikskeha*, ils tiennent que *Ikskeha* est le Soleil, & [92] *Aataentsic* la Lune, & toutesfois que leur Cabane est située au bout de la terre, c'est à dire vers nostre mer Oceane: car au delà c'est vn pays perdu pour eux, & auant qu'ils

resolved to plunge in; and as it did not imagine that the water was so shallow, it did this so violently as to dash itself against the bottom, and came back with its snout all covered with slime. The man, very glad [91] at this happy discovery, exhorts it to continue, and to bring up soil to increase the size of the Islet; which it did with so much assiduity, that the Islet lost its identity, and was changed into these vast fields that we see. If you again press them here, and ask them what they think of this man,—who gave him life, who put him upon this little Island, how he could become the father of all these Nations, since he was alone and had no companion; you will gain nothing by asking all these questions, except that you will get this solution, which would not be bad, if their Religion were good, *We do not know; we were told so; our Fathers never taught us any more about it.* What would you say to that? All that we do is to bear witness to them that we feel compassion for their so gross ignorance; we take thence occasion, when we judge them capable of appreciating it, for explaining some of our Mysteries, and of showing them how fully they conform to reason. They listen very willingly, and are well satisfied therewith.

But to return to *Aataentsic* and *Iouskeha*; they hold that *Iouskeha* is the Sun¹³ and [92] *Aataentsic* the Moon, and yet that their Home is situated at the ends of the earth, namely, toward our Ocean sea; for beyond that it is a lost country to them, and before they had any commerce with the French they had never dreamed that there was under Heaven a different land from their own,—and, now that they are disabused of this idea, many still believe that their

eussent eu quelque commerce avec nos François, ils ne s'imaginoient pas qu'il y eust sous le Ciel une autre terre que la leur, & maintenant qu'ils font desabusez de ce costé-là, encor croient-ils, au moins plusieurs, que leur terre & la nostre font deux pieces tout à fait detachées, & parties des mains de diuers ourriers. Ils disent donc que quatre ieunes hommes entreprirent autresfois ce voyage pour s'informer eux-mêmes de la verité, qu'ils trouuerent *Iškeha* tout seul dans sa Cabane qui les reçut fort humainement. Apres quelques complimens de part & d'autre à la mode du Pays, il leur donna aduis de se cacher en quelque coing, autrement qu'il ne respondoit pas de leur vie, qu'*Aataentsic* estoit pour leur iouer un mauuais tour, s'ils ne se tenoient sur leur garde. Ceste Megere arriue sur le soir, & comme elle prend telle figure que bon luy semble, s'apperceuant qu'il y auoit de nouveaux hostes en la maison, elle prist la forme d'une belle ieune fille bien parée, avec un beau collier, & des bracclets de [93] Pourcelaine, & demanda à son fils où estoient ses hostes; il respond qu'il ne sçauoit ce qu'elle vouloit dire, là dessus elle sort de la Cabane, *Iškeha* se feruit de l'occasion pour auertir ses hostes, & leur sauua la vie. Or encor que leur Cabane soit si fort esloignée, ils se trouuent neantmoins l'un & l'autre aux festins, & aux danses qui se font par les villages, *Aataentsic* y est souuent bien bourrée, *Iškeha* en reiette la faute sur un certain *oki* cornu appelé *Tehôrreffandeen*, mais il se trouue au bout du conte que c'est luy même qui se desguise, & outrage ainsi sa mere.

Au reste ils s'estiment grandement obligez à ce personnage; car premierement, au dire de quelques-uns

country and ours are two pieces quite separate, and made by the hands of different workmen. They say, therefore, that four young men once undertook a journey to find out the truth about it; that they found *Iouskeha* quite alone in his Cabin, and that he received them very kindly. After some compliments on both sides, in the fashion of the Country, he advised them to conceal themselves in some corner, otherwise he would not answer for their lives; that *Aataentsic* was sure to play them a bad trick, if they did not keep on their guard. This Fury arrives toward evening, and, as she assumes any form she sees fit, perceiving that there were new guests in the house she took the form of a beautiful young girl, handsomely adorned, with a beautiful necklace and bracelets of [93] Porcelain, and asked her son where his guests were. He replied that he did not know what she meant. Thereupon she went out of the Cabin, and *Iouskeha* took the opportunity to warn his guests, and thus saved their lives. Now, although their Cabin is so very distant, they are nevertheless both present at the feasts and dances which take place in the villages. *Aataentsic* is often badly abused there. *Iouskeha* throws the blame on a certain horned *oki* named *Tehonrressandeen*; but it is found at the end of the tale that it is he himself who, under that disguise, thus insults his mother.

Moreover, they esteem themselves greatly obliged to this personage; for, in the first place, according to the opinion of some,—who hold a belief quite contrary to that of those whom we have mentioned thus far,—without him we would not have so many fine rivers and so many beautiful lakes. In the beginning of the world, they say, the earth was dry and

qui font dans vne opinion toute contraire à ceux dont nous auõs parlé iufques à prefent, fans luy nous n'aurions pas tant de belles riuieres, & tant de beaux lacs. Au commencement du monde, difent-ils, la terre eftoit feiche & aride, & toutes les eaux eftoient ramaffées fous l'aiffelle d'une groffe grenouille, de forte que *Iſskeha* n'en pouuoit auoir vne goutte que par fon entremife. Vn iour il fe refolut de fe deliurer luy & toute fa Pofterité de cefte feruitude, & pour en venir à bout, il luy fit [94] vne incifion fous l'aiffelle, d'où les eaux fortirent en telle abondance, qu'elles fe répandirent par toute la terre, & de là les fleuves, les lacs, & les mers ont pris naiffance. Voiés fi ce n'eſt pas ſouldre ſubtilement la queſtiõ de nos Echoles ſur ce poinct. Ils tiennent auffi que fans *Iſskeha* leur chaudiere ne pourroit bouillir, & qu'il a appris de la Tortue l'inuention de faire du feu. Sans luy ils ne feroient pas ſi bonne chaffe, & n'auroient pas tant de facilité à prendre, comme ils font, les animaux à la courſe; car ils font dans cefte croyance que les animaux n'ont pas eſté en liberté dès le commencement du monde, mais qu'ils eftoient renfermez dans vne grande cauerne, où *Iſskeha* les gardoit: peut-eſtre y a-il en cela quelque alluſion à ce que Dieu amena tous les animaux à Adam. Qu'un iour il ſe refolut de leur donner congé afin qu'ils multipliaſſent, & rempliſſent les foreſts, en telle façon neantmoins qu'il en peuſt ayſément diſpoſer quand bon luy ſembleroit. Voicy ce qu'il fit pour en venir à bout. A meſure qu'ils fortirent de cét antre, il les bleſſa tous au pied d'un coup de fleche; toutesfois le Loup eſquiua le coup; de là vient, difent-ils, qu'ils ont de la peine à le prendre à la courſe.

arid; all the waters were collected under the armpit of a large frog, so that *Iouskeha* could not have a drop except through its agency. One day, he resolved to deliver himself and all his Posterity from this servitude; and, in order to attain this, he made [94] an incision under the armpit, whence the waters came forth in such abundance that they spread throughout the whole earth, and hence the origin of rivers, lakes, and seas. Behold here a subtle solution of the question of our Schools upon this point. They hold also that without *Iouskeha* their kettles would not boil, as he learned from the Turtle the process of making fire. Were it not for him, they would not have such good hunting, and would not have so much ease in capturing animals in the chase, as they now have. For they believe that animals were not at liberty from the beginning of the world, but that they were shut up in a great cavern, where *Iouskeha* guarded them. Perhaps there may be in that some allusion to the fact that God brought all the animals to Adam. However, one day he determined to give them liberty in order that they might multiply and fill the forests,—in such a way, nevertheless, that he might easily dispose of them when it should seem good to him. This is what he did to accomplish his end. In the order in which they came from the cave, he wounded them all in the foot with an arrow. However, the Wolf escaped the shot; hence, they say, they have great difficulty in catching him in the chase.

[95] They pass yet beyond this, and regard him as profane Antiquity once did Ceres. According to their story, it is *Iouskeha* who gives them the wheat they eat, it is he who makes it grow and brings it to

[95] Ils passent encor plus auant, & le regardent comme faisoit iadis l'Antiquité profane, vne Cérés; à les entendre c'est *Ikskeha* qui leur donne le bled qu'ils mangent, c'est luy qui le fait croistre, & le conduit à maturité; s'ils voyent leurs campagnes verdoyâtes au Printemps, s'ils recueillent de belles & plantureuses moissons, & si leurs Cabanes regorgent d'espics, ils n'en ont l'obligation qu'à *Ikskeha*. Je ne sçay ce que Dieu nous garde ceste année, mais à entendre les bruits qui courent nous sommes menacez tout de bon d'une grande sterilité. On a veu, dit-on, *Ikskeha*, tout-défait & maigre comme vne squelette, avec un épy en sa main mal fourny; d'autres adioustent qu'il portoit vne iambe d'homme, & la déchiroit à belles dents; tout cela, disent-ils, est vne marque indubitable d'une fort mauuaise année: mais le plaisir est, qu'il ne se trouue dans le Pays qui dise, ie l'ay veu, ou ay parlé à homme qui l'a veu, & cependant tout le monde croit cecy comme vne chose indubitable, & personne ne se met en peine de faire vne plus curieuse recherche de la verité. S'il plaifoit à la diuine Bonté faire mentir ces faux Prophetes, ce ne nous feroit pas un petit auantage pour autoriser nostre [96] croyance dans le Pays, & donner cours à la publication du saint Euangile. Nous auons receu, & recevons tous les iours tant de faueurs du Ciel, que nous auons fuit d'esperer encor celle-cy, si tant est que ce soit la gloire de Dieu.

maturity. If they see their fields verdant in the Spring, if they reap good and abundant harvests, and if their Cabins are crammed with ears of corn, they owe it to *Iouskeha*. I do not know what God has in store for us this year; but, to judge from the reports going round, we are threatened in earnest with a great scarcity. *Iouskeha*, it is reported, has been seen quite dejected, and thin as a skeleton, with a poor ear of corn in his hand. Some add that he was carrying a man's leg and was tearing it with sharp teeth. All this, they say, is an indubitable sign of a very bad year. But the fun of it is, no one can be found in the Country who will say, "I have seen him, or I have spoken to a man that has seen him;" and yet every one deems this an indubitable fact, and no man takes the trouble to make a more searching inquiry into the truth of it. If it should please the divine Goodness to prove these false Prophets untruthful, it would be no small advantage to add authority to our [96] faith in this Country, and to open the way for the publication of the holy Gospel. We have received and are receiving every day so many favors from Heaven that we have reason to hope for this one as well, if it is for the glory of God.

CHAPITRE II.

QUEL EST LE SENTIMENT DES HURONS TOUCHANT
LA NATURE & L'ESTAT DE L'AME, TANT EN
C'EST VIE, QU'APRES LA MORT.

C'EST vn plaisir de lesentendre parler des ames, ou pour mieux dire, c'est vne chose tout à fait digne de compassion, de voir des hommes raisonnables, auoir des sentimens si bas, d'une essence si noble, & qui porte des traicts si vifs de la Diuinité. Ils luy donnent diuers noms selon les diuers estats ou diuerfes operations. Entant qu'elle anime seulement le corps, & luy donne la vie, ils l'appellent *khi-ondhec8i*; entant qu'elle est raisonnable, *oki andaérandi*, semblable à vn demon, qui contrefait le demon: entant qu'elle pense & delibere [97] sur quelque chose, ils l'appellēt *endionrra*, & *gonennonc8al*, en tant qu'elle se porte d'affection vers quelque obiet, d'où vient qu'ils disent souuent, *ondayee ihaton onennonc8at*; voila ce que le cœur me dit, voila ce que mon appetit desire. Maintenant si elle est separée du corps, ils l'appellent *esken*, & les os mesmes des morts *atisken*; à mon auis sur cette fausse persuasion qu'ils ont, que l'ame y demeure en quelque façon attachée quelque temps apres la mort, au moins qu'elle n'en est pas beaucoup éloignée, ils se la figurent diuisibles; & vous auriez toutes les peines du monde à leur faire croire, que nostre ame est toute entiere en toutes les parties de nostre corps, ils luy donnēt mesme vne

CHAPTER II.

THE IDEAS OF THE HURONS REGARDING THE NATURE
AND CONDITION OF THE SOUL, BOTH IN
THIS LIFE AND AFTER DEATH.

IT is amusing to hear them speak of their souls,—
or rather, I should say, it is a thing quite worthy
of compassion to see reasonable men, with senti-
ments so low concerning an essence so noble and
bearing so distinct marks of Divinity. They give it
different names according to its different conditions
or different operations. In so far as it merely ani-
mates the body and gives it life, they call it *khion-
dhecwi*; in so far as it is possessed of reason, *oki an-
daérandi*, “like a demon, counterfeiting a demon;”
in so far as it thinks and deliberates [97] on any-
thing, they call it *endionrra*; and *gonennoncwat*, in so
far as it bears affection to any object; whence it hap-
pens that they often say *ondayee ihaton onennoncwat*,
“That is what my heart says to me, that is what my
appetite desires.” Then if it is separated from the
body they call it *esken*, and even the bones of the
dead, *atiskén*,—in my opinion, on the false persua-
sion entertained by them that the soul remains in
some way attached to them for some time after death,
at least that it is not far removed from them; they
think of the soul as divisible, and you would have all
the difficulty in the world to make them believe that
our soul is entire in all parts of the body. They
give to it even a head, arms, legs,—in short, a body;

teste, des bras, des iambes, en vn mot vn corps; & pour les mettre bien en peine, il ne faut que leur demander par où l'ame fort à la mort, si tant est qu'elle soit corporelle, & ayt vn corps aussi grand que celui qu'elle anime; car à cela ils n'ont point de réponse.

Pour ce qui est de l'estat de l'ame apres la mort, ils tiennent qu'elle se separe tellement du corps, qu'elle ne l'abandonne pas incontinent: quand on le porte au [98] tombeau, elle marche deuât, & demeure dans le cimetiere iusques à la feste des Morts; de nuit elle se pourmene par les villages, & entre dans les Cabanes, où elle prend sa part des festins, & mange de ce qui est resté le soir dans la chaudiere; d'où vient que plusieurs, pour cette consideration, n'en mangent pas volontiers le lendemain; il y en a mesme qui ne se trouuent point aux festins qui se font pour les ames, croyans qu'ils mourroient indubitablement, s'ils auoient seulement gousté des viandes qui leur sont préparées; d'autres neantmoins ne font pas si scrupuleux, & en mangent tout leur faoul.

A la feste des Morts, qui se fait enuiron de douze en douze ans, les ames quittent les cimetieres, & au dire de quelques-vns se changent en Tourterelles, qu'ils persecutent par apres à coups de fleches dans les bois pour en faire grillade & les manger; neantmoins la plus commune creance est, qu'apres cette ceremonie, dont ie parleray icy bas, elles s'en vont de compagnie, couuertes qu'elles font des robes & des colliers qu'on leur a mis dans la fosse, à vn grand Village, qui est vers le [99] Soleil couchant, excepté toutefois les vieillards & les petits enfans, qui n'ont pas si bonnes iambes que les autres, pour pouuoir faire ce voyage: ceux-cy demeurent dans le pays, où

and to put them in great perplexity it is only necessary to ask them by what exit the soul departs at death, if it be really corporeal, and has a body as large as that which it animates; for to that they have no reply.

As to what is the state of the soul after death, they hold that it separates in such a way from the body that it does not abandon it immediately. When they bear it to the [98] grave, it walks in front, and remains in the cemetery until the feast of the Dead; by night, it walks through the villages and enters the Cabins, where it takes its part in the feasts, and eats what is left at evening in the kettle; whence it happens that many, on this account, do not willingly eat from it on the morrow; there are even some of them who will not go to the feasts made for the souls, believing that they would certainly die if they should even taste of the provisions prepared for them; others, however, are not so scrupulous, and eat their fill.

At the feast of the Dead, which takes place about every twelve years, the souls quit the cemeteries, and in the opinion of some are changed into Turtle-doves, which they pursue later in the woods, with bow and arrow, to broil and eat; nevertheless the most common belief is that after this ceremony, of which I shall speak below, they go away in company, covered as they are with robes and collars which have been put into the grave for them, to a great Village, which is toward the [99] setting Sun,—except, however, the old people and the little children who have not as strong limbs as the others to make this voyage; these remain in the country, where they have their own particular Villages. Some as-

ils ont leurs Villages particuliers; on entend quelquefois, difent-ils, le bruit des portes de leurs Cabanes, & les voix des enfans qui chaffent les oyfeaux de leurs champs, ils fement des bleds en la faifon, & fe feruent des champs que les viuans ont abandonnez; s'il fe brufle quelque Village, ce qui arriue fouuent en ce pays, ils ont foin de ramaffer du milieu de cette incendie le bled rofty, & en font vne partie de leurs prouifions.

Les ames qui font plus fortes & plus robustes, ont leur rendez-vous, comme i'ay déjà dit, vers l'Occident, où chaque Nation a fon Village particulier, & fi l'ame d'un Algonquin estoit fi hardie de se presenter au Village des ames de la Nation des Ours, elle n'y feroit pas la bien venuë.

Les ames de ceux qui font morts en guerre font bande à part, les autres les craignent, & ne leur permettent point l'entrée de leur Village, non plus qu'aux [100] ames de ceux qui se font défaits eux-mêmes. Quant aux ames des larrons, elles y font les bien venuës, & si elles en estoient bannies, il n'y resteroit ame qui viue. Car, comme i'ay dit, Huron & larron ne font qu'un; & le plus homme de bien du Pays fera tout ce qu'il pourra pour faire fa main, s'il trouue quelque chose chez vous à l'écart qui luy agréé.

Je demandois un iour à un de nos Sauvages, où ils pensoient que fust le Village des ames, il me répondit qu'il estoit vers la Nation du Petun, c'est à dire vers l'Occident, à huit lieuës de nous, & que quelques-uns les auoient veuës comme elles y alloient, que le chemin qu'elles tenoient estoit large, & assez battu, qu'elles passoient aupres d'une roche, qu'ils ap-

sert that at times they hear the noise of the doors of their Cabins, and the voices of the children chasing the birds in the fields. They sow corn in its season, and use the fields the living have abandoned; if any Village takes fire, which often happens in this country, they take care to gather from the middle of this fire the roasted corn, and lay it by as a part of their provisions.

The souls which are stronger and more robust have their gathering place, as I have said, toward the West, where each Nation has its own Village; and if the soul of an Algonquin were bold enough to present itself at the Village of the Bear Nation's souls, it would not be well received.

The souls of those who died in war form a band by themselves; the others fear them, and do not permit their entry into their Village, any more than to the [100] souls of those who have killed themselves. As to the souls of thieves, they are quite welcome, and, if they were banished from them, there would not be a soul left; for as I have said, Huron and thief are one and the same thing; and the wealthiest man in the Country will do all he can to try his hand at it, if he finds something in your house lying apart which he likes.

I asked one day one of our Savages where they thought the Village of souls was; he answered that it was toward the Tobacco Nation,¹³ that is to say, toward the West, eight leagues from us, and that some persons had seen them as they were going; that the road they took was broad and well-beaten; that they passed near a rock called *Ecaregniondi*, which has often been found marked with the paint which they use to smear their faces.

pellent *Ecaregniondi*, qui s'est trouuée fouuent marquée des peintures, dont ils ont accoustumé de se barbouiller le vifage.

Vn autre me dit, que fur le mesme chemin, auant que d'arriuer au Village, on rencontre vne Cabane, où loge vn certain nommé *Oscotarach*, ou Perce-teste, qui tire la ceruelle des testes des morts, & la garde; il faut passer vne riuiera, & pour [101] tout pont vous n'avez que le tronc d'un arbre couché en trauers, & appuyé fort légèrement. Le passage est gardé par vn chien qui donne le fault à plusieurs ames & les fait tomber; elles font en mesme temps emportées par la violence du torrent, & étouffées dans les eaux; mais, luy dis-je, d'où avez vous appris toutes ces nouvelles de l'autre monde? Ce font, me dit-il, des personnes resuscitées qui en ont fait le rapport. C'est ainsi que le diable les abuse dans leurs songes; c'est ainsi qu'il parle par la bouche de quelques-vns, qui ayans este laissez comme pour morts, reuiennent par apres en fanté, & discourent à perte de veüe de l'autre vie, selon les idées que leur en donne ce mauuais maistre: à leur dire le Village des ames n'est en rien diffemblable du Village des viuans, on y va à la chasse, à la pèche, & au bois; les haches, les robbes, & les colliers y font autant en credit, que parmy les viuans. En vn mot tout y est pareil, il n'y a que cette difference, que iour & nuict elles ne font que gemir & se plaindre; elles ont des Capitaines, qui de tēps en temps mettent le hola, & taschent d'apporter quelque moderation à leurs [102] soupirs, & à leurs gemissemēs. Vray Dieu que d'ignorance & de stupidité! *Illuminare his qui in tenebris & in umbra mortis sedent.*

Another told me that on the same road, before arriving at the Village, one comes to a Cabin where lives one named *Oscotarach*, or "Pierce-head," who draws the brains out of the heads of the dead, and keeps them. You must pass a river, and [101] the only bridge you have is the trunk of a tree laid across, and very slightly supported. The passage is guarded by a dog, which jumps at many souls, and makes them fall; they are at the same time carried away by the violence of the torrent, and stifled in the waters. "But," said I to him, "whence have you learned all this news of the other world?" "It is," he told me, "persons brought back to life, who have reported it." Thus it is the devil deceives them in their dreams; thus he speaks by the mouth of some, who having been left as dead, recover health, and talk at random of the other life, according to the ideas that this wretched master gives them. According to them the Village of souls is in no respect unlike the Village of the living,—they go hunting, fishing, and to the woods; axes, robes, and collars are as much esteemed as among the living. In a word, everything is the same; there is only this difference, that day and night they do nothing but groan and complain. They have Captains, who from time to time put an end to it and try to moderate their [102] sighs and groans. God of truth, what ignorance and stupidity! *Illuminare his qui in tenebris, et in umbra mortis sedent.*

Now this false belief they have about souls is kept up among them by means of certain stories which the fathers tell their children, which are so poorly put together that I am perfectly astounded to see how men believe them and accept them as truth.

Or cette fausse creance qu'ils ont des ames s'entretient parmy-eux, par le moyen de certaines histoires que les peres racontent à leurs enfans, lesquelles sont si mal coufues, que ie ne sçauois assez m'estonner de voir comme des hommes les croient, & les prennent pour veritez. En voicy deux des plus niaises, que ie tiens de personnes d'esprit & de iugement parmy-eux.

Vn Sauvage ayant perdu vne sienne sœur qu'il aymoit vniquement, & ayant pleuré quelque temps sa mort, se resolut de la chercher en quelque part du monde qu'elle peust estre, & fit douze iournées tirant vers le Soleil couchant; où il auoit appris qu'estoit le Village des ames, sans boire ny manger; au bout desquels sa sœur luy apparut sur le soir, avec vn plat de farine cuite à l'eau, à la façon du pays, qu'elle luy donna, & disparut en mesme temps qu'il voulut mettre la main sur elle pour l'arrester; il passa outre, & chemina trois mois entiers, esperant tousiours venir à [103] bout de ses pretensions; pendant tout ce temps elle ne manquoit pas tous les iours de se monstrier, & luy rendre le mesme office qu'elle auoit commencé, allant ainsi augmentant sa passion, sans luy donner autre soulagement, que ce peu de nourriture qu'elle luy apportoit. Les trois mois expirez, il rencontra vne riuere, qui le mit en peine d'abord, car elle estoit fort rapide, & ne paroissoit pas gayable; il y auoit bien quelques arbres abbatus qui tenoient le trauers, mais ce pont estoit si branlant qu'il n'auoit pas la hardiesse de s'y fier. Que fera-il? Il y auoit au delà quelque piece de terre défrichée, ce qui luy fit croire qu'il y trouueroit quelques habitans. De fait apres auoir regardé de costé & d'autre, il apperceut à l'entrée du bois, vne petite Cabane, il crie à diuerfes re-

Here are two of the most stupid ones, which I get from persons of intelligence and judgment among them.

A Savage having lost one of his sisters, whom he loved above all the rest, and having wept for some time after her death, resolved to seek her, in whatever part of the world she might be; and he traveled twelve days toward the setting Sun, where he had learned the Village of souls was, without eating or drinking. At the end of this time, his sister appeared to him in the night, with a dish of meal cooked in water, after the fashion of the country, which she gave to him, and disappeared at the moment he wished to put his hand on her and stop her. He went on, and journeyed three whole months, hoping always to succeed [103] in claiming her. During all this time she never failed to show herself every day, and to render him the same service that she had at first,—increasing in this way his desire, without giving it any other consolation than the little nourishment which she brought him. The three months expired; he came to a river, which presented great difficulty to him at first, for it was very rapid and did not appear fordable. There were, indeed, some fallen trees thrown across it; but this bridge was so shaky that he did not dare to trust himself to it. What should he do? There was on the other side a piece of cleared land, which made him think there must be some inhabitants near. In fact, after looking in all directions he perceived, on the outskirts of the wood, a little Cabin. He calls several times. A man appears and shuts himself up immediately in his Cabin; this gives him great joy, and he resolves to cross. Having successfully accomplished this, he

prifes, vn homme paroift & fe renferme incontinent en fa Cabane: ce qui le réioüit, & le fit refoudre à franchir le pas, l'ayant fait heureufement, il va droit à cette Cabane, mais il y trouue vifage de bois, il appelle, il heurte à la porte; on luy répond qu'il attende, & qu'il paffe premierement fon bras, s'il veut entrer; l'autre fut bien eftonné de voir vn corps, il [104] luy ouure, & luy demande, où il alloit, & ce qu'il pretendoit, que ce pays n'estoit que pour les ames. Je le fçay bien, dit cét Auenturier, c'est pourquoy i'y viens chercher l'ame de ma fœur. Oüy da, repart l'autre, à la bonne-heure; allez, prenez courage, vous voila tantoft au Village des ames, vous y trouuerez ce que vous defirez; toutes les ames font maintenant affemblées dans vne Cabane, où elles danfent pour guerir *Aataentfic*, qui eft malade; ne craignez point d'y entrer, tenez voila vne courge, vous y mettrez l'ame de vofre fœur; il la prend, & demande en mefme temps congé à fon hofte, bien aife d'auoir fait vne fi bonne rencontre. Sur le depart il luy demãde fon nom: Contente toy, dit l'autre, que ie fuis celui qui garde la ceruelle des morts; quand tu auras recouuré l'ame de ta fœur, repaffe par icy, ie te donneray fa ceruelle. Il s'en va donc, & arriué qu'il eft au Village des ames, il entre dans la Cabane d'*Aataentfic*, où il les trouue en effet qu'elles danfoient pour fa fanté, mais il ne peut encor voir l'ame de fa fœur: car elles furent fi effrayées à la veuë de cét homme, qu'elles s'éuanoüirent en vn instant; de forte qu'il demeura [105] maiftre de la Cabane toute la iournée. Sur le foir, comme il eftoit affis aupres du foyer, elles retournerent, mais elles ne fe monftrèrent du commencement que de loing, petit à petit s'eftant approchées

goes straightway to this Cabin, but finds the door closed; he calls, he beats on the door. He is told to wait, and first to pass in his arm, if he wishes to enter; the other one is much astonished to see a living body. He [104] opens to him, and asks him where he was going and what his purpose was, as this country was only for souls. "I know that well," says this Adventurer, "and that is why I came here to seek the soul of my sister." "Oh indeed," replies the other one, "well and good; come, take courage, you will be presently in the Village of souls, where you will find what you desire. All the souls are now gathered in a Cabin, where they are dancing to heal *Aataentsic*, who is sick. Don't be afraid to enter; stay, there is a pumpkin, you can put into it the soul of your sister." He takes it, and at the same time bids good-bye to his host, very glad of so fortunate a meeting. On his departure he asks the host his name, "Be satisfied," says the other, "that I am he who keeps the brains of the dead." So he goes away and reaches the Village of souls. He enters the Cabin of *Aataentsic*, where he finds that they are indeed dancing for the sake of her health; but he cannot yet see the soul of his sister, for the souls were so startled at the sight of the man that they vanished in a moment, so that he remained [105] all day the master of the Cabin. In the evening, as he was seated by the fire, they returned; but they showed themselves at first only at a distance. Approaching slowly, they began again to dance; he recognized his sister amid the troop, he endeavored even to seize her, but she fled from him. He withdrew some distance, and at last chose his time so well that she could not escape him. Nevertheless, he made certain of

elles se mirent de rechef à danfer; il recogneut fa fœur parmy la troupe, il s'efforça mefme de la prendre, mais elle s'enfuit de luy, il fe retira à l'écart, & prit enfin fi bien fon temps qu'elle ne peût échapper; neantmoins il ne fut pas affeuré de fa proye qu'à bonnes enfeignes; car il luy fallut luitier cōtre elle toute la nuict, & dans le combat elle diminua tellement, & deuint fi petite, qu'il la mit fans difficulté dans fa courge: l'ayant biē bouchée, il s'en retourne fur la champ, & repaffe chez fon hofte, qui luy donne dans vne autre courge la ceruelle de fa fœur, & l'inſtruit de tout ce qu'il deuoit faire pour la reſuſciter. Quand tu feras arriué, luy dit-il, va t'en au cimetiere, prends le corps de ta fœur, porte le en ta Cabane, & fais feſtin: tous les conuiez eſtās aſſemblez, charge le fur tes épaules, & fais vn tour par la Cabane, tenant en main les deux courges, tu n'auras pas fi toſt repris ta place, que ta fœur reſuſcitera, [106] pourueu que tu donne ordre que tous tiennent la veuē baiffée, & que pas vn ne regarde ce que tu feras, autrement tout ira mal. Le voila donc retourné dans fort peu de temps à fon Village, il prend le corps de fa fœur, fait feſtin, & execute de point en point, tout ce qui luy auoit eſté preſcrit; & de fait il ſentoit déjà du mouuement dans ce cadaure demy pourry; mais comme il eſtoit à deux ou trois pas de fa place, il y eut vn curieux qui leua les yeux, & en mefme temps cette ame s'échappa, & ne luy demeura que ce cadaure fur les bras, qu'il fut contrainct de reporter au tombeau d'où il l'auoit tiré.

SI CREDERE FAS EST.

Voicy vne autre de leurs fables de mefme tiſſure.

his prey only by securing her well; for he had to struggle against her all night, and in the contest she grew so little that he put her without difficulty into his pumpkin. Having corked her in well, he immediately returns by way of the house of his host, who gives him his sister's brains in another pumpkin, and instructs him in all he must do to resuscitate her. "When thou reachest home," he says to him, "go to the cemetery, take the body of thy sister, bear it to thy Cabin, and make a feast. When all thy guests are assembled, carry it on thy shoulders, and take a walk through the Cabin holding the two pumpkins in thy hands; thou wilt no sooner have resumed thy place than thy sister will come to life again, [106] provided thou givest orders that all keep their eyes lowered, and that no one shall look at what thou art doing, else everything will go wrong." Soon the man returns to his Village; he takes the body of his sister, makes a feast, carries out, in due order, all the directions given him,—and, indeed, he already felt motion in the half-decayed corpse; but, when he was two or three steps from his place, one curious person raised his eyes; at that moment the soul escaped, and there remained to him only the corpse in his arms, which he was constrained to bear to the tomb whence he had taken it.¹⁴

SI CREDERE FAS EST.

Here is another of their fables, of like tissue. A young man of the highest standing among them, being ill, after much entreaty finally answered that his dream showed a bow rolled in bark; that if any one wanted to go with him as an escort, there was but one man on earth who had one of the sort. A com-

Vn ieune homme des plus qualifiez d'entr'eux apres s'estre bien fait prier, répondit enfin estant malade, que son fonge portoit vn arc roulé en écorce, que si on vouloit luy faire escorte, il n'y auoit qu'un seul homme sur terre qui en eust vn. Vne troupe de deliberez se mettent en chemin avec luy; mais au bout de dix iours il ne luy resta que six compagnons, le reste rebrouffa à cause de la faim qui les preffoit: les six vont avec luy [107] à grandes iournées, & sur les pistes d'une petite beste noire rencontrent la Cabane de leur homme, qui les aduertit de ne manger rien de ce qu'une femme qui alloit reuenir leur appresteroit pour la premiere fois; à quoy ayant obeï, & renuerfé les plats par terre, ils s'apperceurent, que ce n'estoient que bestes venimeuses, qu'elle leur auoit presénté. S'estans refaits du second seruice, il fut question de bander l'arc roulé, dont pas vn n'ayant pô venir à bout, que le ieune hōme, pour qui le voyage auoit esté entrepris: il le receut en don de son hôte, qui l'inuita de fuer avec luy, & au fortir de la fuerie metamorphosa vn de ses compagnons en Pin. Delà ils aborderent au Village des ames, d'où ils ne reuindrent que trois en vie, & tous effarez chez leur hôte, qui les encouragea de retourner chez eux, à la faueur d'un peu de farine, telle que les ames la mangent, & qui fustente les corps à merueilles. Qu'au reste ils alloient passer à trauers des bois, où les Cerfs, les Ours, les Orignacs estoient aussi communs que les fueilles des arbres; & qu'estans pourueus d'un arc si merueilleux, ils n'auoient rien à craindre, que [108] leur chasse feroit des meilleures. Les voila de retour en leur Village, & tout le monde à l'entour d'eux, à se réiouïr & apprendre leurs diuerfes rencontres.

pany of resolute men put themselves on the road with him; but at the end of ten days there remained to him only six companions, the rest turning back on account of the hunger which pressed them. The six go with him [107] many a day's journey, and in following the tracks of a little black beast, come upon the Cabin of their man, who warns them not to partake of what a woman who was to be present should offer them for the first time. Having obeyed him, and having upset the dishes upon the ground, they perceived it was only venomous reptiles she had presented to them. Having refreshed themselves with the second course, it was a question of bending the rolled bow, which not one of them succeeded in doing, except the young man in whose behalf the journey had been undertaken. He received it as a gift from his host, who invited him to take a sweat with him, and, upon emerging from the sweat-box, metamorphosed one of his companions into a Pine tree. From there they advanced to the Village of souls, whence only three returned alive, and all frightened, to the house of their host; he encouraged them to return home with the help of a little meal, such as the souls eat, and which sustains the body wonderfully. He told them, moreover, that they were going to pass through woods where Deer, Bears, and Moose were as common as the leaves on the trees; but that, being provided with so marvelous a bow, they had nothing to fear, that [108] they would be very successful in the chase. Behold them returned to their Village, with every one around them rejoicing, and learning their different adventures.

Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit, when these

Forſan & hæc olim meminiffe iuuabit, lors que ces pauvres gens éclairés du ciel ſe riront de leurs ſottifès, comme nous l'eſperons.

poor people, enlightened by heaven, will laugh at their own stupidities, as we hope.

CHAPITRE III.

QUE LES HURONS RECOGNOISSENT QUELQUE DIUINITÉ: DE LEURS SUPERSTITIONS, & DE LA CREANCE QU'ILS ONT AUX SONGES.

COMME ces pauvres Sauvages pour estre hommes n'on pû méconnoître Dieu tout à fait, & pour estre vicieux n'en ont sceu auoir que des conceptions indignes de sa grãdeur, ils ne l'ont ny cherché, ny recogneu qu'en la surface des creatures, où ils ont esperé leur bon-heur, ou redouté quelque malheur. Ils s'adressent à la Terre, aux Riuieres, aux Lacs, aux Rochers dangereux, mais fur tout au Ciel, & croient que tout cela est animé, [109] & qu'il y reside quelque puiffant Demon. Ils ne se contentent pas de former de simples vœux, il[s] les accompagnent souuent d'une espece de sacrifice. I'en ay remarqué de deux fortes. Les vns font pour se les rendre propices & fauorables; les autres pour les appaïser, quand ils en ont receu, selon qu'il s'imaginent, quelque disgrâce, ou se persuadent auoir encouru leur ire et leur indignation. Voicy les ceremonies qu'ils gardent en ces sacrifices. Ils iettent du Petun dans le feu, & si c'est par exemple au Ciel qu'ils s'adressent, ils disent, *Aronhiaté onné aonflaniðas taitenr*, Ciel voila ce que ie t'offre en sacrifice, aye pitié de moy, assiste moy: si c'est pour impetrer la santé, *taenguiaens*, gueris moy. Ils ont recours au Ciel presque en toutes leurs neceffitez, & respectent ces grands corps fur

CHAPTER III.

THAT THE HURONS RECOGNIZE SOME DIVINITY; OF
THEIR SUPERSTITIONS, AND THEIR
FAITH IN DREAMS.

AS these poor Savages, being men, have not been able altogether to deny God, and, being given to vice, could have only conceptions of him unworthy of his greatness,—they have neither sought nor recognized him except on the surface of created things, in which they have hoped for happiness or dreaded some misfortune. They address themselves to the Earth, to Rivers, to Lakes, to dangerous Rocks, but above all, to the Sky; and believe that all these things are animate, [109] and that some powerful Demon resides there. They are not contented with making simple vows, they often accompany them with a sort of sacrifice. I have remarked two kinds of these. Some are to render them propitious and favorable; others to appease them, when they have received in their opinion some disgrace from them, or believe they have incurred their anger or indignation. Here are the ceremonies they employ in these sacrifices. They throw some Tobacco into the fire; and if it is, for example, to the Sky that they address themselves, they say, *Aronhiaté onné aonstaniwas taitenr*, “O Sky, here is what I offer thee in sacrifice; have pity on me, assist me.” If it is to implore health, *taenguiaens*, “Heal me.”¹⁵ They have recourse to the Sky in almost all their ne-

toutes les creatures, & y remarquent particulièrement quelque chose de diuin: aussi est-ce apres l'homme la plus viue image que nous ayons de la Diuinité; il n'y a rien qui nous la represente si clairement: nous y remarquons sa toute-puissance dans les prodigieux effets qu'ils causent icy bas; son immensité dans leur vaste estenduë; sa sagesse dans l'ordre [110] de leurs mouuemens; sa bonté dans les benignes influences qu'ils versent continuellement sur toutes les creatures; & sa beauté dans le Soleil, & sur le front des Estoilles. Je dis cecy pour monstrier combien il sera facile avec le temps, & l'assistance diuine, de conduire ces Peuples à la cognoissance de leur Createur, puis qu'ils honnoient déjà si particulièrement vne creature, qui en est vne si parfaite image: & encore puis ie dire que c'est proprement Dieu qu'ils honnoient, quoy qu'à l'aeugle, car ils s'imaginent dans les Cieux vn *Oki*, c'est à dire vn Demon, ou vne puissance qui regle les saisons de l'année, qui tient en bride les vents, & les flots de la mer, qui peut rendre fauorable le cours de leurs nauigations, & les assister en toutes leurs necessitez: ils redoutent mesme son ire, & l'appellent à tesmoin pour rendre leur foy inuiolable, quand ils font quelque promesse d'importance, ou passent quelque accord, ou traitté de paix avec l'ennemy. Voicy les termes dont ils se seruent, *Hakhrihóté ekaronhiaté t8t Ic8akhier ekentaté*, Le Ciel entend ce que nous faisons aujourd'huy: & croyent apres cela que s'ils [111] venoient à contreuenir à leur parole, ou à rompre cette alliance, le Ciel les chastieroit infalliblement. Bien dauantage, ils estiment qu'il ne fait pas bon se moquer du Ciel. En voicy vne preuue bien remarquable. Vn Sorcier fort renommé dans le Païs nous

cessities, and respect the great bodies in it above all creatures, and remark in it in particular something divine. Indeed, it is, after man, the most vivid image we have of Divinity; there is nothing which represents him to us so clearly; we remark his omnipotence in all the prodigious effects they cause here below, his immensity in their vast extent, his wisdom in the order [110] of their movements, his goodness in the benign influences they shed continually over all creatures, and his beauty in the Sun and in the aspect of the Stars. I say this to show how easy it will be, with time and divine aid, to lead these Peoples to the knowledge of their Creator, since they already honor so especially a creature which is so perfect an image of him. And, furthermore, I may say it is really God whom they honor, though blindly, for they imagine in the Heavens an *Oki*, that is to say, a Demon or power which rules the seasons of the year, which holds in check the winds and the waves of the sea; which can render favorable the course of their voyages, and assist them in every time of need. They even fear his anger, and invoke him as a witness in order to render their faith inviolable, when they make some promise of importance, or agree to some bargain or treaty of peace with an enemy. Here are the terms they use, *Hakhrihôté ekaronhiaté tout Icwakhier ekentaté*, "The Sky knows what we are doing to-day;" and they think that if, after this, they [111] should violate their word or break their alliance, the Sky would certainly chastise them. More than that, they do not think it right to mock the Sky. Here is a very remarkable proof of it: A very renowned Sorcerer of this Country threatens us this year with a great famine. The corn will

menace cette année d'une grâde famine; Les bleds croistront, dit-il, & monteront en épis, les enfans mesmes en feront rostir en leur verdure; mais une gelée blanche furuiendra, qui moissonnera les esperances du Païs. Au reste il ne fonde pas son dire sur ces apparitions prétendues d'*Iškeha*; voicy ce qui le fait parler de la sorte. On crie, dit-il, tous les iours au Ciel, *Aronhiaté onne aonstaancas*, & cependant on ne luy donne rien, cela irrite le Ciel, il ne manquera pas de s'en venger, & lors que les bleds commèceront à entrer en maturité, il fera sans doute éclatter les effets de sa colere.

Ils croient encore que le Ciel est couroucé quand quelqu'un se noye, ou meurt de froid; il faut un sacrifice pour l'appaiser: mais, ô bon Dieu! quel sacrifice, ou plustost quelle boucherie! La chair du mort est la victime qui doit estre immolée, [112] il se fait un concours des villages circonuoifins; on fait force festins, & on n'épargne point les presents, comme estât question d'une chose à laquelle tout le Pays a interest: on porte le mort dans le cimetiere, on l'estend sur une natte; d'un costé est une fosse, & de l'autre un feu pour le sacrifice: en mesme temps quelques ieunes hommes choisis par les parens se presentent, & se rangent autour du corps, chacun le couteau à la main; & le protecteur du defunt ayant marqué avec du charbon les parties qui doiuent estre couppees, ils trauaillent à qui mieux mieux sur ce cadaure, & en enleuent les parties les plus charnuës; en fin ils luy ouurent le corps, & en tirent les entrailles, qu'ils iettent au feu avec toutes ces pieces de chair qu'ils ont couppees, & mettent dans la fosse la carcasse toute décharnée. J'ay remarqué que pen-

grow, he says, and will shoot into ear; the children will even cause the ears to be roasted when they are green; but a white frost will occur, which will destroy the hopes of the Country. Moreover he does not base his statements on those pretended apparitions of *Iouskeha*; here is what leads him to speak in this way. "The people," he says, "are crying every day to the Sky, *Aronhiaté onne aonstaancwas*; and yet nothing is given to it. This irritates the Sky, it will not fail to take revenge; and, when the corn shall begin to mature, it will without doubt vent upon it the effects of its wrath."

They believe that the Sky is angry, when any one is drowned or dies of cold; a sacrifice is needed to appease it, but, good God! what a sacrifice, or rather what a butchery! The flesh of the dead man is the victim who is to be immolated. [112] A gathering of the neighboring villages takes place; many feasts are made, and no presents are spared, as it is a matter in which the whole Country is interested. The dead body is carried into the cemetery, and is stretched out on a mat. On one side is a ditch, and on the other a fire for a sacrifice. At the same time, some young men chosen by the relatives present themselves, and station themselves around the corpse, each with a knife in his hand; and the protector of the dead person having marked with a coal the parts which are to be cut, they vie with each other in cutting the body, tearing off the fleshiest parts. At last they open the body and draw out its entrails, which they throw into the fire with all the pieces of flesh they had cut off, and throw into the ditch the carcass quite stripped of flesh. I have observed that during this butchery the women walk around them several

dant cette boucherie les femmes tournent tout autour à diuerfes fois, & encouragent ces ieunes hommes qui decouppent ce corps à rendre ce bon office à tout le Païs, leur mettant des grains de Pourcelaine dans la bouche. Quelquefois mefme la mere du defunt toute baignée dans fes larmes fe [113] met de la partie, & chante d'un ton pitoyable en fe lamentant fur la mort de fon fils. Cela fait, ils croyent fermement auoir appaifé le Ciel: s'ils manquent à cette ceremonie ils regardent toutes les mauuaifes difpofitions de l'air, & tous les finiftres accidens qui leur arriuent par apres comme autant d'effets de fa colere.

L'an paffé au commencement de Nouembre vn Sauvage fe noya retournant de la pefche, on l'enterra le dix-feptième, fans autres ceremonies; le mefme iour les neiges tomberent en telle abondance, qu'elles nous cacherent la terre pour tout l'hyuer; & nos Sauvages ne manquerent pas d'en reietter la caufe fur ce qu'on n'auoit pas decoupé le mort à l'ordinaire. Voila les facrifices qu'ils font pour fe rendre le Ciel fauorable.

Sur le chemin des Hurons à Kébec il y a des Rochers qu'ils respectent particulièrement, & aufquels ils ne manquent iamais, quand ils descendent pour la traite, d'offrir du Petun. Ils appellent l'un *Hihih8ray*, c'eft à dire vne Roche où le Chahuan fait fon nid: mais le plus celebre eft celui qu'ils appellent, *Tfanhohi Arafa*, la demeure d'*Tfanhohi*, qui eft vne [114] efpece d'oifeau de proye. Ils difent des merueilles de cette Roche: à les entendre c'eftoit autrefois vn homme qui a esté ie ne fçay comment changé en pierre; tant y a qu'ils y diftinguent encore la teſte, les bras, & le corps: mais il falloit qu'il fuſt merueilleuſement puiffant; car cette maſſe eſt ſi vaſte

times, and encourage the young men who cut up this body to render this good service to the whole Country, putting Porcelain beads into their mouths. Sometimes even the mother of the deceased, all bathed in tears, [113] joins the party and sings in a pitiful tone, lamenting the death of her son. That done, they firmly believe they have appeased the Sky. If they fail in this ceremony, they look upon all the disastrous changes of the weather, and all the untoward accidents which happen to them afterwards, as so many results of its anger.¹⁶

Last year, at the beginning of November, a Savage was drowned when returning from fishing; he was interred on the seventeenth, without any ceremonies. On the same day snow fell in such abundance that it hid the earth all the winter; and our Savages did not fail to cast the blame on their not having cut up the dead person as usual. Such are the sacrifices they make to render Heaven favorable.

On the way by which the Hurons go to Kébec, there are some Rocks that they particularly reverence and to which they never fail, when they go down to trade, to offer Tobacco. They call one of them *Hihihouray*, meaning "a Rock where the Owl makes its nest." But the most celebrated is the one they call *Tsanhohi Arasta*, "the home of *Tsanhohi*," which is a [114] species of bird of prey. They tell marvels of this Rock. According to their story, it was formerly a man who was, I know not how, changed into stone. At all events, they distinguish still the head, the arms, and the body; but he must have been extraordinarily powerful, for this mass is so vast and so high that their arrows cannot reach it. Besides, they hold that in the hollow of this Rock there is a De-

& si haute, que leurs fleches n'y peuuent atteindre. Au reste ils tiennent que dans le creux de ce Rocher il y a vn Demon qui est capable de faire reüssir leur voyage; c'est pourquoy ils s'y arrestent en passant, & luy offrent du Petun, qu'ils y mettent simplement dans vne des fentes, en luy adressant cette priere, *Oki ca ichikhon condayee aen8aen ondayee d'aon8taanc8as*, &c. Demon qui habites en ce lieu, voila du Petun que ie te presente, assiste nous, garde nous de naufrage, defends nous contre nos ennemis, & fais qu'apres auoir fait vne bonne traite, nous retournions fains & saufs à nostre Village. Je dirois volontiers là dessus, *Voluntaria oris eorum beneplacita fac Domine*: Mon Dieu, escoutez-les, & vous faites connoître à eux, car ils veulent s'adresser à vous.

Ils tiennent les poissons raisonnables, [115] comme aussi les Cerfs, & Orignaux; c'est ce qui fait qu'ils ne iettent aux Chiens ny les os de ceux cy quand ils font à la chasse, ny les arêtes de ceux là tandis qu'ils pèschent: autrement sur l'aduis que les autres en auroient, ils se cacheroient, & ne se laisseroient point prendre. Ils mariēt tous les ans leur rets ou Seine à deux petites filles, qui ne doiuent estre que de six à sept ans, de peur qu'elles n'ayent déjà perdu leur virginité, qui est vne qualité bien rare parmy eux. La ceremonie de ces époufailles se fait en vn bon festin, où la Seine est placée au milieu de ces deux vierges: c'est pour la rendre heureuse à prendre du poisson. Encore suis je bien aise que la virginité reçoie parmy eux cette forte d'honneur; cela nous pourra seruir vn iour pour leur en faire conceuoir le prix. Les poissons, disent-ils, n'aiment point les morts, & là dessus ils s'abstiennent d'aller à la pèche quand

mon, who is capable of making their journey successful; that is why they stop as they pass, and offer it Tobacco, which they simply put into one of the clefts, addressing to it this prayer, *Oki ca ichikhon condayee aenwaen ondayee d'aonstaancwas*, etc., "Demon who dwellest in this place, here is some Tobacco which I present to thee; help us, guard us from shipwreck, defend us from our enemies, and cause that after having made good trades we may return safe and sound to our Village."¹⁵ I could willingly say thereupon, *Voluntaria oris eorum beneplacita fac Domine*: My God, listen to them, and make yourself known to them, for they desire to address themselves to you.

They hold that fish are possessed of reason, [115] as also the Deer and Moose; and that is why they do not throw to the Dogs either the bones of the latter when they are hunting, or the refuse of the former when fishing; if they did, and the others should get wind of it, they would hide themselves, and not let themselves be taken. Every year they marry their nets or Seines to two little girls, who must be only from six to seven years of age, for fear they may have lost their virginity, which is a very rare quality among them. The ceremony of these espousals takes place at a fine feast, where the Seine is placed between the two virgins; this is to render them fortunate in catching fish. Still, I am very glad that virginity receives among them this kind of honor; it will help us some day to make them understand the value of it. Fish, they say, do not like the dead; and hence they abstain from going fishing when one of their friends is dead. But lately, when they took up from the cemetery the bodies of their relatives and carried them into their Cabins, on the oc-

quelqu'un leur est mort. Nagueres qu'ils tirèrent du cimetiere les corps de leurs parës, & les porterent dans leurs Cabanes, à l'occasion de la feste des morts, quelques vns nous apporterent chez nous leurs rets, allegants pour pretexte la crainte qu'ils [116] auoient du feu; car c'est d'ordinaire en cette faison que le feu ruine souuent les Villages entiers; que chez nous nous estions quasi tousiours sur pied, & dormions fort peu; que nous estions éloignez du Village, & par consequent moins en danger de ce costé là: mais tout cela n'estoit que discours; la vraye raison estoit, comme nous apprîmes par apres, qu'ils craignoient que leurs rets ne fussent profanez par le voisinage de ces carcasses: voila bien quelque chose; mais voicy le fond de la plus grand part de leurs superstitions.

Ils ont vne croyance aux songes qui surpasse toute croyance, & si les Chrestiens mettoient en execution toutes les inspirations diuines avec autant de soin que nos Sauvages executent leurs songes, sans doute ils deuiendroient bien tost de grands Saints. Ils prennent leurs songes pour des ordonnances & des arrests irreuocables, & dont il n'est pas permis sans crime de differer l'execution. Vn Sauvage de nostre Village songea cét hyuer dès son premier sommeil qu'il deuoit faire promptement festin, & sur le champ toute nuit qu'il estoit, se leua, s'en vint nous [117] éveiller, et nous emprunter vne de nos chaudières.

Le songe est l'oracle que tous ces pauvres Peuples consultent & escoutent, le Prophete qui leur predit les choses futures, la Cassandre qui les aduertit des malheurs qui les menacent, le Medecin ordinaire dans leurs maladies, l'Esculape & le Galien de tout le Pays, c'est le maistre le plus absolu qu'ils ayent; si

casion of the feast of the dead, some brought into our Cabin their nets alleging as a pretext the fear they [116] had of fire,—for it is usually in this season that fire often ruins entire Villages; that in our Cabin we were almost always moving about, and slept very little; that we were at some distance from the Village, and consequently were in less danger in that respect. But all this was talk; the true reason was, as we learned afterwards, that they were afraid their nets would be profaned by the proximity of these dead bodies. That is something, to be sure; but here is the foundation of the greater part of their superstitions.

They have a faith in dreams which surpasses all belief; and if Christians were to put into execution all their divine inspirations with as much care as our Savages carry out their dreams, no doubt they would very soon become great Saints. They look upon their dreams as ordinances and irrevocable decrees, the execution of which it is not permitted without crime to delay. A Savage of our Village dreamed this winter, in his first sleep, that he ought straightway to make a feast; and immediately, night as it was, he arose, and came [117] and awakened us to borrow one of our kettles.

The dream is the oracle that all these poor Peoples consult and listen to, the Prophet which predicts to them future events, the Cassandra which warns them of misfortunes that threaten them, the usual Physician in their sicknesses, the Esculapius and Galen of the whole Country,—the most absolute master they have. If a Captain speaks one way and a dream another, the Captain might shout his head off in vain,—the dream is first obeyed. It is their Mercury in

vn Capitaine parle d'un costé, & vn fonge de l'autre, le Capitaine a beau se rompre la teste à crier, le fonge est le premier obey. C'est leur Mercure dans leurs voyages, leur Oeconome dans leurs familles: le fonge preside fouvent à leurs conseils; la traite, la pefche & la chaffe s'entreprennent ordinairement fous son auet, & ne font quasi que pour luy fatisfaire; ils ne traittent rien de si precieux dont ils ne se priuent volontiers en vertu de quelque fonge: s'ils ont fait vne heureuse chaffe, s'ils retournēt de la pefche leurs Canots chargez de poisson, tout cela est à la discretion du fonge; vn fonge leur enleuera quelquefois leur prouision de toute vne année: il prescrit les festins, les danfes, les chanfons, les ieux, en vn mot le fonge fait [118] icy tout, & est à vray dire comme le principal Dieu des Hurons. Au reste qu'on ne pense pas que ie face icy vne amplification ou exaggeration à plaisir, l'experience de cinq ans qu'il y a que ie suis à estudier les mœurs & les façons de faire de nos Sauuages, m'obligent de parler de la forte.

Il est vray que tous les fonges ne font pas dans ce credit, on a égard aux personnes, & il y en a tel qui aura beau fonger, pas vn ne s'en remuëra pour cela; de mesme si c'est vn pauvre, ses fonges font en fort peu de consideration: il faut que ce soit vne personne assez accommodée, & dont les fonges se soient trouuez plusieurs fois veritables: & encor ceux qui ont le don de bien réuer n'écoutent pas tous leurs fonges indifferemment; ils en recognoissent de faux & de veritables; & ceux-cy, disent-ils, sont assez rares. Toutefois dans la pratique ils agissent d'une autre façon, & en executent de si mal fagotez, & composez de tant de pieces qui ont si peu de rapport, qu'il ne

their journeys, their domestic Economy in their families. The dream often presides in their councils; traffic, fishing, and hunting are undertaken usually under its sanction, and almost as if only to satisfy it. They hold nothing so precious that they would not readily deprive themselves of it for the sake of a dream. If they have been successful in hunting, if they bring back their Canoes laden with fish, all this is at the discretion of a dream. A dream will take away from them sometimes their whole year's provisions. It prescribes their feasts, their dances, their songs, their games,—in a word, the dream does [118] everything and is in truth the principal God of the Hurons. Moreover, let no one think I make herein an amplification or exaggeration at pleasure; the experience of five years, during which I have been studying the manners and usages of our Savages, compels me to speak in this way.

It is true that all dreams are not held in such credit; regard is had to the persons, and there are some who dream in vain; for these no one will stir a step. Likewise if it is a poor person, his dreams are held in very little consideration. It must be a person in fairly good circumstances, and one whose dreams have been found several times true. And even those who have the gift of dreaming well do not all give heed to their dreams indifferently; they recognize some of them as false and some as true,—the latter, they say, being quite rare. Yet in practice they act in another way, and carry out some so badly put together, and made up of so many parts having so little connection, that it would not be possible to say what are in their own judgment false, and what true; I fancy they [119] themselves would find considerable

me feroit pas possible de dire quels sont à leur jugement les faux songes, ou les véritables; ie pense qu'eux [119] mêmes y feroient bien empêchez; c'est pourquoy, de peur de manquer en ce point, plusieurs en executent la plus part; s'il y a quelque obscurité dans un songe, ou si les choses qu'ils ont songées, sont, ou impossibles, ou difficiles à recouvrer, ou hors de saison, il se trouue des Artemidores qui les interpretent, & qui y coupent & tranchent comme bon leur semble. Quand les enfans sont malades, les peres, ou les meres songent pour eux; nous en vîmes un exemple cet hyver dans nostre Village. Un de nos petits Chrestiens estoit fort malade, sa mere songea qu'il luy falloit pour sa santé cent pains de Petun, & quatre Castors, dont elle feroit festin; mais parce que le Petun estoit rare, les cent pains furent réduits à dix, & les Castors qui estoient hors de saison, changez en quatre grands poissons qui passerent pour Castors dans le festin, & dont les queues furent données aux principaux pour des queues de Castor. Après cela ce petit Ange ne laissa pas de s'enuoler au ciel, au grand regret de ses parens, mais avec beaucoup de consolation de nostre côté. Ces ames innocentes ont sans doute un grand pouvoir auprès [120] de Dieu, pour moyenner la conversion de leurs peres, & pour impetrer même des graces fort particulieres pour ceux qui s'employent au salut de ces Peuples, & qui leur ont procuré le bien, dont ils se voyent en possession pour iamais. Mais passons, nous ne sommes pas encor au bout de leurs superstitions.

difficulty in doing this; that is why, for fear of failing in this point, many carry out the greater part of them. If there be any obscurity in their dreams, or if the things they have dreamed are either impossible or difficult to recover, or are out of season, there are found Artemidores who interpret them, and who cut and slice them as seems good to them. When children are sick, the fathers or mothers dream for them; we saw an example of this in our Village this winter. One of our little Christians was very sick; his mother dreamed that to make him well he must have a hundred cakes of Tobacco, and four Beavers, with which she would make a feast; but, because the Tobacco was very rare, the hundred cakes were reduced to ten, and the Beavers which were out of season were changed to four large fish that passed for Beavers in the feast, and the tails of which were given to the principals as Beaver tails. But this little Angel, for all that, flew away to heaven, to the great grief of its parents, but with much consolation to us. These innocent souls have no doubt great power with [120] God to bring about the conversion of their fathers, and even to request very special graces for those who employ themselves in the salvation of these Peoples, and who have procured for them the good of which they see themselves in possession forever. But let us pass on; we are not yet at the end of their superstitions.

CHAPITRE IV.

DES FESTINS, DANSES, IEUX DE PLAT, & DE CROSSE,
DE CE QU'ILS APPELLENT *ONONHAROA*.

IE n'entreprends pas de deduire par le menu, tout ce que nos Sauvages ont coustume de faire en vertu de leurs songes, il faudroit étaler sur ce papier trop de chimeres; ie me contenteray de dire que leurs songes se raportent ordinairement, ou à vn festin, ou à châter, ou à danfer, ou à iouer, ou enfin à vne certaine espece de manie qu'ils appellent en effet *Ononhara*, c'est à dire renuerfement de ceruelle. Si donc il eschet que quelqu'un de quelque consideration tombe malade, [121] le Capitaine luy va demander si fouuent, de la part des Anciens, ce qu'il a songé, qu'enfin il tire de luy ce qu'il desire pour sa fanté, & lors ils se mettent tous en peine de le luy trouuer, n'en fut-il point, il en faut auoir. De cette façon d'agir, & de ce qu'ils exercent entr'eux l'hospitalité gratuitement, ne prenant rien que de nous, de qui ils attendent tousiours quelque chose, i'entre en esperâce, qu'ils se rendront vn iour susceptibles de la charité Chrestienne.

L'ononhara est pour les fols; quand quelqu'un dit qu'il faut qu'on aille par les Cabanes dire qu'on a songé. Alors dès le soir vne troupe d'infensez s'en vont par les Cabanes, & renuerfent tout: le lendemain ils y retournent criers à pleine teste, Nous auons songé, sans dire quoy. Ceux de la Cabane deuinent

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING FEASTS, DANCES; THE GAMES OF DISH
AND CROSSE; WHAT THEY CALL *ONONHAROIA*.

I DO not undertake to mention in detail everything our Savages are accustomed to do in virtue of their dreams; I should be compelled to display on this paper too many absurdities. I shall content myself with saying that their dreams usually relate either to a feast, or to a song, or to a dance, or to a game,—or, lastly, to a certain sort of mania that they in fact call *Ononharioia*, or “turning the brain upside down.” If therefore it happens that some one of some consideration falls sick, [121] the Captain goes to inquire so often, on behalf of the Old Men, what he has dreamed, that at last he draws from him what he desires for his health, and then they all put themselves to trouble to find it for him; if it does not exist, it must be found. From this mode of acting, and from the fact that they exercise hospitality among themselves gratuitously, taking nothing except from us, from whom they always expect something, I entertain the hope that they will one day become susceptible of Christian charity.

The ononhara is for the sake of mad persons, when some one says that they must go through the Cabins to tell what they have dreamed. Then, as soon as it is evening, a band of maniacs goes about among the Cabins and upsets everything; on the morrow they return, crying in a loud voice, “We have

ce que ce peut estre, & le presentēt aux compagnōs, qui ne refusent rien, iusqu'à ce qu'ils ayent rencontré. Vous les voyez fortir le col chargé de Haches, de Chaudieres, de Pourcelaine, & semblables presens à leur façon. Quand ils ont trouué ce qu'ils cherchoient, ils remercient celuy qui le leur a donné, & apres auoir receu encore [122] quelques accompagnemens de ce present mysterieux; comme du cuir, ou vne aleine, si c'estoit vn foulier; ils s'en vont de compagnie au bois y ietter, disent-ils, la folie, hors du Village; & le malade commence à se guerir. Pourquoi non? il a ce qu'il cherchoit, ou ce que le Diable pretendoit.

Pour le regard des festins; c'est vne chose infinie, le Diable les y tient si fort attachez, qu'il n'est pas possible de plus, sçachant bien que c'est le moyen de les rendre tousiours plus brutaux, & moins capables des veritez furnaturelles. Ils en rapportent l'origine à vne certaine entreueuē des Loups & du Hibou, où cēt animal nocturne leur predict la venuē d'*Ontarraoura*, c'est vne beste qui retire au Lyon par la queue; lequel *Ontarraoura*, resuscita, disent-ils, vn ie ne sçay quel bon Veneur, grand amy des Loups, au milieu d'un bon festin: d'où ils concluent qu'ils faut que les festins soient capables de guerir les malades, puis que mesmes ils rendent la vie aux morts. N'est-ce pas bien raisonné pour des gens de ventre & de table?

Tous ces festins peuuent estre reduits [123] à quatre especes. *Athataion*, est le festin des adieux. *Enditeuh8a*, d'action de graces & de conioiſſance. *At8ront aochien* est vn festin à chanter autant qu'à manger. *A8ataerohi*, est la quatriesme espece, & se fait pour la deliurance d'une maladie ainsi appellée.

dreamed," without saying what. Those of the Cabin guess what it is, and present it to the band, who refuse nothing until the right thing is guessed. You see them come out with Hatchets, Kettles, Porcelain, and like presents hung around their necks, after their fashion. When they have found what they sought, they thank him who has given it to them; and, after having received further [122] additions to this mysterious present,—as some leather or a shoemaker's awl, if it were a shoe,—they go away in a body to the woods, and there, outside the Village, cast out, they say, their madness; and the sick man begins to get better. Why not? He has what he was seeking for, or what the Devil pretended.

As regards feasts, it is an endless subject; the Devil keeps them so strongly attached thereto that they could not possibly be more so, he knowing well that it is a means of rendering them still more brutal, and less capable of supernatural truths. They ascribe their origin to a certain meeting of Wolves and of the Owl, in which that nocturnal creature predicted for them the coming of *Ontarraoura*, a beast allied to the Lion, by its tail. This *Ontarraoura* resuscitated, they say, I know not what good Hunter, a firm friend of the Wolves, in the midst of a great feast.¹⁷ From this they conclude that feasts must be capable of healing the sick, since they even restore life to the dead. Is it not well reasoned for people who are slaves of the belly and of the table?

All their feasts may be reduced [123] to four kinds. *Athataion* is the feast of farewells. *Enditeuhwa*, of thanksgiving and gratitude. *Atouront aochien* is a feast for singing as well as for eating. *Awataerohi*

Les ceremonies y font presque femblables à celles des Montagnés; c'est pourquoy ie m'en remets de la plus part aux Relations des années precedentes.

Ie rougis de dire que souuent ils y font les iours & les nuicts entieres: car enfin, il faut vuidier la chaudière. Et si vous ne pouuez aualler tout ce qu'on vous a feruy en vn iour, si vous ne trouuez qui vous vueille ayder, pour quelque present, quand les autres auront fait leur deuoir, on vous laissera-là dans vn petit retranchement, où personne n'entrera que vous, les vingt-quatre heures entieres. C'est vne chose d'importance qu'un festin, crient-ils, en chassant ceux qui se presentent quand le ieu des dents a commencé, & que le distributeur a remply à chacun son écuelle, où d'ordinaire il y a à manger depuis le matin iusqu'au soir, & qui a le pluostoit fait; c'est à luy en feruir [124] tousiours de nouueau, iusqu'à ce que la chaudiere soit nette. N'est-il pas vray à ouïr tout cecy, & plusieurs autres traicts de gourmandise, que i'obmets par bienfiance, de dire, que *si Regnum Dei non est esca & potus*; si le Royaume de Dieu n'est pas à boire & à manger; si est bien celuy que le Diable a vfurpé sur ces pauvres aueugles. Plaïse à nostre Seigneur auoir pitié d'eux, & les deliurer de cette tyrannie.

Mais il n'y a rien de magnifique comme les festins qu'ils appellent *At&ronta ochien*, c'est à dire festins à chanter. Ces festins dureront souuent les vingt-quatre heures entieres, quelquefois il y aura trente & quarante chaudières, & s'y mangera iusques à trente Cerfs: cét hyuer dernier il s'en fit vn au village d'*Andiata* de vingt-cinq chaudières, où il y auoit cinquante grands poissons, qui valent bien [que] nos

is the fourth kind, and is made for deliverance from a sickness thus named.

The ceremonies here are almost like those of the Montagnés; on this account, I refer for the most part to the Relations of preceding years.

I blush to say that they engage in them often whole days and whole nights, for they must, at the last, empty the kettle. And if you cannot, in one day, swallow all that has been provided for you, if you cannot find any one who will help you in consideration of a present, when the others have done their utmost you will be left there in a little enclosure, where no one but yourself will enter for twenty-four whole hours. It is a matter of importance, this feasting, they cry, driving away those who present themselves when the game of teeth has begun, and when the distributor has filled for each his bowl, in which usually there is enough to keep one eating from morning until night. And, whoever soonest accomplishes this, it is for him to be served [124] again and again, until the kettle be empty. Is it not true, on hearing all this, and several other traits of gluttony, which I omit out of respect for good taste, to say that *si Regnum Dei non est esca et potus*, verily the Kingdom of God is not in eating and drinking; such is indeed the one which the Devil has usurped over these poor blind beings. May it please our Lord to have pity on them, and to deliver them from this tyranny.

But the most magnificent of these feasts are those they call *Atouronta ochien*, that is, singing feasts. These feasts will often last twenty-four entire hours; sometimes there are thirty or forty kettles, and as many as thirty Deer will be eaten. This last winter one was made in the village of *Andiata*,¹⁸ of twenty-five kettles,

plus grands Brochets de France, & six vingts autres de la grandeur de nos Saulmons. Il s'en fit vn autre à *Contarreca*, de trente chaudières, où il y auoit vingt Cerfs & quatre Ours, auffi y a t'il ordinairement bonne compagnie, les huict & neuf villages y feront fouuent [125] inuitez, & mefme tout le Païs; & en ce cas le maiftre du feftin enuoye à chaque Capitaine autant de buchettes qu'il inuite de perfonnes de chaque Village.

Ils font ces Feftins quelquefois purement par magnificence, & pour fe faire renommer; d'autrefois lors qu'ils prennent vn nouveau nom, principalement s'ils reffufcitent, comme ils difent, le nom de quelque Capitaine defunct, qui ait eſté en confideration dans le Païs pour fa valeur & fa conduite au maniemment des affaires; mais fur tout lors qu'ils fe difpoſent à prendre les armes, & aller à la guerre. La plus grande Cabane du Village eſt deſtinée pour receuoir la compagnie: ils ne font point de difficulté de s'incommoder les vns pour les autres en ces occaſions; la choſe eſt eſtimée de telle importance, qu'en mefme temps qu'on baſtit quelque Village, on dreſſe vne Cabane exprez, plus grande de beaucoup que les autres; quelquefois on luy donnera iuſques à vingt-cinq & trente braſſes de longueur.

La compagnie eſtant aſſemblée, quelquefois on ſe met à chanter auant que [126] de manger, quelquefois pour auoir meilleur courage on mange auparauant: ſi le feſtin doit durer, comme il arriue ſouuent, toute la iournée, vne partie des chaudières ſe vuide le matin, & l'autre partie ſe reſerue pour le ſoir.

Parmy ces chants & ces danſes quelques-vns prennent occaſion d'affommer comme en ioiant leurs en-

in which there were fifty great fish, larger than our largest Pike in France, and one hundred and twenty others of the size of our Salmon. Another took place at *Contarrea*, of thirty kettles, in which there were twenty Deer and four Bears. Also there is usually a large company, for eight or nine villages will often be [125] invited, and even the whole Country. In this case the master of the feast sends to each Captain as many sticks as the number of persons he invites from each Village.

Sometimes they make these Feasts purely from display, and to become renowned; at other times, when they take a new name, principally when they raise from the dead, as they say, the name of some deceased Captain who has been held in esteem in the Country for his valor and his skill in the management of affairs, but above all when they are inclined to take arms and go to war. The largest Cabin of the Village is set aside for the reception of the company. They do not hesitate to inconvenience themselves for each other on these occasions. The matter is esteemed of such importance that, when a Village is built, they purposely put up one Cabin much larger than the others, sometimes making it as much as twenty-five or thirty brasses in length.

When the company is assembled, they sometimes begin to sing before [126] eating; sometimes, to have more courage, they eat first. If the feast is to last, as is often the case, the whole day, one portion of the kettles is emptied in the morning and the other is reserved for the evening.

During these songs and dances, some take occasion to knock down, as if in sport, their enemies. Their most usual cries are *hen, hen*, or *hélléll*, or else

nemis. Leurs cris plus ordinaires font *hen, hen*, ou *hééééé*, ou bien *siiiiuii*. Ils rapportent l'origine de tous ces myſteres à vn certain Geant plus qu'homme, qu'vn dés leurs bleça au front, lors qu'ils habitoient fur le bord de la mer, pour n'auoir point répondu, le compliment *K8ai*, qui eſt la repartie ordinaire de ceux qu'on ſaluë. Ce monſtre leur ietta la pomme de diſcorde en punition de ſa bleſſeure, & apres leur auoir recommandé les feſtins de guerre, l'*Ononharoia*, & ce refrain *siiiiuii*, il s'enfonça dans la terre, & diſparut. Auroit-ce bien eſté quelque eſprit infernal?

Puis que nous ſommes ſur ce propos, ie diray qu'ils recognoiſſent comme vne eſpece de Dieu en guerre: ils le figurent comme vn petit Nain. A les entendre il paroît à pluſieurs, lors qu'on eſt ſur le [127] poinct d'aller en guerre; il careſſe les vns, & c'eſt vn ſigne, diſent-ils, qu'ils retourneront victorieux; les autres il les frappe au front, & ceux-la peuuent bien dire qu'ils n'iront point à la guerre ſans y laiſſer la vie.

Retournons aux feſtins. L'*A8taerohi* eſt vn remede qui n'eſt que pour vne certaine forte de maladie, qu'ils appellent auſſi *A8taerohi*, du nom d'vn petit Demon gros comme le poing, qu'ils diſent eſtre dans le corps du malade, & ſur tout dans la partie qui luy fait mal; ils recognoiſſent qu'ils ſont malades de cette maladie par le moyen d'vn ſonge, ou par l'entremiſe de quelque Sorcier. Eſtant vn iour allé viſiter vne femme qui ſe faifoit malade de l'*A8taerohi*, comme ie luy aſſignois vne autre cauſe de ſa maladie, & me mocquois de ſon *A8taerohi*, elle ſe mit à dire apoſtrophant ce Demon *A8taerohi hechrio Kihenkhon. A8taerohi*, ah! ie te prie, que cettuy-cy cognoiſſe qui tu es, & luy fais ſentir les maux que tu me fais ſouffrir.

wiiiii. They ascribe the origin of all these mysteries to a certain Giant of more than human size, whom one of their tribe wounded in the forehead when they dwelt on the shore of the sea, for not having given the complimentary answer, *Kwai*, which is the usual response to a salute. The monster cast among them the apple of discord, in punishment for his wound; and after having recommended to them war feasts, *Ononharoia*, and this refrain *wiiiii*, he buried himself in the earth, and disappeared. Might this indeed have been some infernal spirit?

Since I am speaking on this subject, I will say that they recognize a sort of war God; they imagine him as a little Dwarf. By what they say, he appears to many when they are on the [127] point of going to war. He caresses some, and that is a sign, they say, that they will return victorious; others he strikes upon the forehead, and these can truly say that they will not go to war without losing their lives.

Let us return to the feasts. The *Aoutacrohi* is a remedy which is only for one particular kind of disease, which they call also *Aoutacrohi*, from the name of a little Demon as large as the fist, which they say is in the body of the sick man, especially in the part which pains him. They find out that they are sick of this disease, by means of a dream, or by the intervention of some Sorcerer. Having one day gone to visit a woman who thought herself sick of *Aoutacrohi*, when I assigned another cause for her sickness, and laughed at her *Aoutacrohi*, she began to say, apostrophizing this Demon, *Aoutacrohi hechrío Kihenkho*. *Aoutacrohi*, "Ah, I pray thee that this one may know who thou art, and that thou wilt make him feel the ills that thou makest me suffer."

Or pour chaffer ce Demon, ils font des festins qu'ils accompagnent de quelques chançons, que fort peu sçauent bien [128] chanter. Voila bien de quoy pleurer aux pieds des Autels; mais hélas ce n'est pas encor tout. Outre ce que ie viens de dire, ie pourrois distinguer encor autant d'especes différentes de festins, qu'il y a de diuerfes extrauagances dans leur songes; car, comme i'ay dit, ce font ordinairement les songes qui commandent les festins, & ordonnent mesmes iusques aux moindres ceremonies qui y doiuent estre obseruées. De là viennent ces festins à rendre gorge, qui font horreur à la plus part, & neantmoins, quiconque y est inuité, il faut qu'il en passe par la, & se resolue d'écorcher le renard, autrement le festin fera gâté. Quelque fois vn malade songera qu'il faut que les conuiez entrent par vne certaine porte de la Cabane, & non par l'autre, qu'ils ne passent que par vn certain costé de la chaudiere; autrement faute de cela il ne fera pas guery; y a t'il rien de plus ridicule?

Il y a iusques à douze fortes de danfes, qui font autât de fouuerains remedes pour les maladies, de sçauoir maintenant si celle-cy, ou celle là est propre pour telle, ou telle maladie, il n'y a qu'un songe qui le [129] puisse determiner, ou bien l'*Arendio8ane*, c'est à dire le Sorcier.

De trois fortes de ieux qui font particulièrement en vŕage parmy ces Peuples, sçauoir de croŕŕe, de plat, & de paille. Les deux premiers font tout à fait, disent-ils, fouuerains pour la ŕanté. Cela n'est-il pas digne de compaŕŕion? Voila vn pauvre malade qui a le feu dans le corps, & l'ame sur le bout de levres, & vn misérable Sorcier luy ordonnera pour

Now, to drive away this Demon, they make feasts that they accompany with songs which very few indeed can [128] sing. There is, indeed, much to bewail at the foot of the Altars. But alas! this is not yet all. Besides what I have just mentioned, I might speak of as many different sorts of feasts as there are extravagances in their dreams, for, as I have said, it is usually dreams that ordain feasts, and fix even to the smallest details the ceremonies that must be observed there. Hence come those feasts where they disgorge, which cause horror to most of them; and yet whoever is invited must resign himself, and resolve to skin the fox, otherwise the feast will be spoiled. Sometimes the sick man will dream that the guests must enter by a certain door of the Cabin, and not by the other, or that they must pass only on one side of the kettle, else he will not be healed. Can anything be more ridiculous?

There are as many as twelve kinds of dances that are so many sovereign remedies for sickness; now to know whether this or that is the proper remedy for such and such a disease, only a dream [129] or else the *Arendiowane*, or Sorcerer, can determine.

Of three kinds of games especially in use among these Peoples,—namely, the games of crosse, dish, and straw,¹⁹—the first two are, they say, most healing. Is not this worthy of compassion? There is a poor sick man, fevered of body and almost dying, and a miserable Sorcerer will order for him, as a cooling remedy, a game of crosse. Or the sick man himself, sometimes, will have dreamed that he must die unless the whole country shall play crosse for his health; and, no matter how little may be his credit, you will see then in a beautiful field, Village con-

tout remede refrigeratif vn ieu de croffe; ou le malade mefme quelquefois aura fongé, qu'il faut qu'il meure, ou que tout le pays croffe pour fa fanté, & en mefme temps s'il a tant foit peu de credit, vous verrez dans vn beau champ Village contre Village, à qui croffera le mieux, & parient l'un contre l'autre, pour s'animer dauantage, les robes de Caftor, & les colliers de Pourcelaine.

Quelquefois auffi vn de ces Iongleurs dira que tout le Pays eft malade, & qu'il demande vn ieu de croffe pour fa guerifon; il ne faut pas en dire dauantage, cela fe publie incontinent par tout, & tous les Capitaines de chaque Village donnent ordre que toute la ieunefse faffe fon deuoir en ce point, autrement quelque grand [130] malheur accueilleroit tout le Pays.

Le ieu de plat eft auffi en grand credit en matiere de medecine, fur tout fi le malade l'a fongé. Ce ieu eft purement de hazard; ils vous ont fix noyaux de prunes, blancs d'un costé & noirs de l'autre, dedans vn plat qu'ils heurtent affez rudemêt contre terre, en forte que les noyaux fautent, & fe tournent tantoft d'un costé, tantoft de l'autre. La partie confifte à amener tous blancs, ou tous noirs; ils iouënt d'ordinaire Village contre Village. Tout ce monde s'amaffe dans vne Cabane, & fe range fur des perches dreffées iufques au haut, de part & d'autre. On y apporte le malade dans vne couuerture, & celuy du Village, qui doit remuer le plat; (car il n'y en a qu'un de chaque costé étably pour cet effet) celuy là dif-ie marche apres, la teſte & le viſage enueloppé de ſa robe. On parie fort & ferme de part & d'autre. Quand celuy de la partie aduerſe tient le plat, ils crient à pleine teſte *achinc, achinc, achinc*, trois, trois, trois,

tending against Village, as to who will play crosse the better, and betting against one another Beaver robes and Porcelain collars, so as to excite greater interest.

Sometimes, also, one of these Jugglers will say that the whole Country is sick, and he asks a game of crosse to heal it; no more needs to be said, it is published immediately everywhere; and all the Captains of each Village give orders that all the young men do their duty in this respect, otherwise some great [130] misfortune would befall the whole Country.

The game of dish is also in great renown in affairs of medicine, especially if the sick man has dreamed of it. This game is purely one of chance: they play it with six plum-stones, white on one side and black on the other, in a dish that they strike very roughly against the ground, so that the plum-stones leap up and fall, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. The game consists in throwing all white or all black; they usually play Village against Village. All the people gather in a Cabin, and they dispose themselves on poles, arranged as high as the roof, along both sides. The sick man is brought in in a blanket, and that man of the Village who is to shake the dish (for there is only one on each side set apart for the purpose), he, I say, walks behind, his head and face wrapped in his garment. They bet heavily on both sides. When the man of the opposite party takes the dish they cry at the top of their voice *achinc, achinc, achinc*, "three, three, three," or perhaps *ioio, ioio, ioio*, wishing him to throw only three white or three black. You might have seen this winter a great crowd returning from here to their Villages, having lost their moccasins [131] at a time

ou bien *ioio, ioio, ioio*, fouhaittans qu'il n'amene que trois blancs ou trois noirs. Vous en eussiez veu cét hyuer vne bonne troupe s'en retourner d'icy à leurs Villages, ayans perdu leurs chaufes [131] en vne faifon, où il y auoit prés de trois pieds de neige, auffi gaillards neantmoins en apparence que s'ils eussent gagné. Ce que ie trouue de plus remarquable en ce point, c'est la disposition qu'ils y apportent. Il s'en trouue qui ieufnent plusieurs iours auparauant que de iouër: la veille ils s'affemblent tous dans vne Cabane, & font festin pour cognoistre quelle fera l'issuë du ieu. Celuy qui est choisi pour tenir le plat, prend les noyaux, & les met indifferemment dans vn plat, & le couure, en forte que personne n'y puisse mettre la main; cela faict on chante; la chanfon acheuée, on découure le plat, & les noyaux se trouuent ou tous blancs, ou tous noirs. Là dessus ie demanday à vn Sauuage, si ceux contre lesquels ils deuoient iouër, ne faisoient pas le mesme de leur costé, & s'ils ne pouuoient pas rencontrer les noyaux en mesme estat; il me dit qu'ouy; & cependant luy dis-ie, tous ne peuuent pas gagner; à cela il ne sceut que répondre. Il m'apprit encor deux choses remarquables: premierement qu'on choisissoit pour manier le plat, quelqu'un qui auoit songé qu'il gagneroit, ou qui auoit vn fort; au reste ceux qui en ont pour quoy que ce soit, ne s'en cachent point, & [132] le portent par tout avec eux; nous en auôs, dit-on, vn dans nostre Village, qui frotte les noyaux d'un certain onguent, & ne manque quasi iamais de gagner. Secondement qu'en faisant l'effay, quelques vns des noyaux disparoissent, & se retrouuoient quelque temps apres dans le plat avec les autres.

when there was nearly three feet of snow,—apparently as cheerful, nevertheless, as if they had won. The most remarkable thing I notice in regard to this matter is the disposition they bring to it. There are some who fast several days before playing: the evening before, they all meet together in a Cabin, and make a feast to find out what will be the result of the game. The one chosen to hold the dish takes the stones, and puts them promiscuously into a dish, and covers it, so as to prevent any one from putting his hand into it. That done, they sing; the song over, the dish is uncovered, and the plum-stones are found all white or all black. On this point, I asked a Savage if those against whom they were to play did not do the same on their side, and if they might not find the plum-stones in the same condition. He said they did; “And yet,” said I to him, “all can not win;” to that he knew not what to answer. He informed me besides of two remarkable things: in the first place, that they choose, to handle the dish, some one who had dreamed that he would win, or who had a charm; moreover, those who have a charm do not conceal it, and [132] carry it everywhere with them: we have, they tell me, one of these in our Village, who rubs the plum-stones with a certain ointment and hardly ever fails to win. Secondly, that in making the attempt some of the plum-stones disappear, and are found some time after in the dish with the others.

Among all these fooleries, I dare not speak of the infamies and uncleanness which the Devil makes to slip into them, causing them to see in a dream that they can only be healed by wallowing in all sorts of filth. May he who has saved us by the blood of the

Parmy toutes ces niaiferies ie n'oferois dire les infamies & lubricitez, que le Diable y fait gliffer, leur faifant voir en fonge, qu'ils ne fçauroient guerir, qu'en fe veautrant dans toute forte d'ordures. Celuy qui nous a fauvez par le fang de l'Agneau immaculé, y veuille remedier au pluftoft, acceptant pour cet effect, fi befoin eft, nos ames & nos vies, que nous luy offrons de tres-bon cœur, pour le falut de ces Peuples, & la remiffion de nos pechez.

Lamb grant to remedy this as soon as possible, accepting for this purpose, if need be, our souls and lives, that we most willingly offer to him for the salvation of these Peoples, and the remission of our own sins.

CHAPITRE V.

S'IL Y A DES SORCIERS AUX HURONS.

EN voici quelques coniectures; les plus sages en iugeront. Premièrement ce Peuple n'est pas si hebeté, qu'il ne cherche & ne reconnoisse quelque chose de releué [133] au dessus des sens: & d'ailleurs sa vie licentieuse & ses débordemens l'empeschans de rencontrer Dieu; il est bien facile au Diable de s'ingerer & luy offrir son seruice, dans les necessitez pressantes où il le void, se faisant payer d'un culte qui ne luy est pas deuit, & se familiarisant à quelques esprits plus subtils, qui le mettent en credit auprès de ces pauvres gens.

2. Vous ne voyez icy rien de plus frequent que les forts; les enfans en heritent de leurs peres, s'ils ont esté trouvez bons, & ils ne s'en cachent point, comme ie viens de dire. Nous auons vn Sauvage en nostre Village, furnomme le *Pescheur*, pour l'heur qu'il a à pescher; cét homme attribué tout son bien aux cendres d'un certain petit oyseau qu'on appelle *Ohguione*; qui penetre, à l'entendre dire, les troncs des arbres sans resistance. Allant à la pesche il demelle avec un peu d'eau ses cendres, & en ayant frotté son rets, il s'affeure, que le poisson donnera dedans en abondance; en effect il en a acquis le renom.

3. Il y a parmy ce Peuple des hommes qui font estat de commander aux pluyes & aux vents; d'autres, de predire les choses à venir; d'autres, de trou-

CHAPTER V.

WHETHER THERE ARE SORCERERS AMONG THE HURONS.

HERE are some conjectures, let the wiser ones judge of them. In the first place, these People are not so foolish as not to seek and to acknowledge something [133] above the senses; and, since their lewdness and licentiousness hinder them from finding God, it is very easy for the Devil to thrust himself in and to offer them his services in their pressing necessities, causing them to pay him a homage that is not due him, and having intercourse with certain more subtle minds, who extend his influence among these poor people.

2. You see nothing more common here than charms; children inherit them from their fathers, if they have been proved good; and they do not make any secret of them, as I have just said. We have a Savage in our Village, surnamed the *Fisher*, on account of his good fortune in fishing; this man attributes all his success to the ashes of a certain little bird that is called *Ohguione*, which, according to his statement, penetrates the trunks of trees without resistance. When he goes fishing, he mixes his ashes with a little water, and, having rubbed his nets with them, he feels confident that the fish will enter them in abundance; in fact, he has acquired fame from this.

3. There are among these People men who presume to command the rain and winds; others, to

uer celles qui font [134] perduës; d'autres finalement de rendre la fanté aux malades, & ce avec des remedes, qui n'ont aucun rapport aux maladies. Qu'ils ayent ces dons de Dieu, personne, à mon aduis, ne l'ofera dire. Que tout leur faict soit tromperie ou imagination, cela ne s'accorde gueres bien avec le credit qu'ils ont acquis, & le long-temps qu'il y a qu'ils font cette profession. Quel moyen que leurs fourbes n'eussent point esté découuertes depuis tant d'années, ou que leur mestier eust esté si bien accredité, & si bien recompensé de tout temps, s'il n'eust iamais reüssy que par pure fantaisie. Personne n'ose leur contredire; ils font continuellement en festins, qui se font par leur ordonnance. Il y a donc quelque apparence, que le Diable leur tient la main par fois, & s'ouure à eux pour quelque profit temporel, & pour leur damnation eternelle. Voyons-en quelques exemples. *Onditachiaé* est renommé en la Nation du Petun, comme vn Iuppin parmy les Payens iadis, pour auoir en main les pluyes & les vents, & le tonnerre. Ce tonnerre, à son conte, est vn homme femblable à vn coq-d'Inde; le Ciel est son Palais, il se retire là quand l'air est serain; il en descend & vient sur terre faire sa prouision [135] de couleurs & de serpens, & de tout ce qu'ils appellent *Oki*, quand les nuës grondent; les éclairs se font à mesure qu'il étend ou replie ses aisles. Que si le tintamarre est vn peu plus grand, ce sont ses petits qui l'accompagnent, & l'aydent à bruire du mieux qu'ils peuuent. Opposant à celuy qui m'en faisoit le conte, d'où venoit donc la seichereffe; il me repartit qu'elle venoit des chenilles, sur lesquelles *Ondiaachiaé*, n'a point de pouuoir. Et luy demandant pourquoy le

predict future events; others, to find things that are [134] lost; and, lastly, others to restore health to the sick, and that with remedies that have no relation to the sicknesses. That they have these gifts from God, nobody in my opinion will dare to say; that all they do is deception or imagination, hardly accords with the reputation they have acquired, and the length of time they have followed this profession. How is it that their tricks have not been discovered during so many years, and their business has acquired so much reputation, and been always so well rewarded,—if they have never succeeded except by sheer imagination? No one dares to contradict them. They are continually at feasts, which take place at their command. There is, therefore, some foundation for the belief that the Devil occasionally gives them assistance, and reveals himself to them for some temporal profit, and for their eternal damnation. Let us see some examples of it. *Onditachiaë* is renowned among the Tobacco Nation, like a Jupiter among the Heathens of former times, from having in hand the rains, the winds, and the thunder. This thunder is, by his account, a man like a Turkey-cock; the Sky is his Palace, and he retires there when it is serene; he comes down to earth to get his supply [135] of adders and serpents, and of all they call *Oki*, when the clouds are rumbling; the lightnings occur in proportion as he extends or folds his wings.³ If the uproar is a little louder, it is his little ones who accompany him, and help him to make a noise as best they can. Raising the objection to him who told me the tale, “whence, then, came dryness?” he replied that it came from the caterpillars, over whom *Ondiaachiaë* had no power. And asking him “why the lightning struck

tonnerre tomboit fur les arbres; c'est là, dit-il, qu'il fait ses prouïfions. Pourquoi brufle-il les Cabanes, pourquoy tuë il les hommes. *Chieske*; que fçay-ie, me dit-il, c'est leur refrain quand ils demeurent courts. Pour la prediction du futur, mais qui n'est gueres efloigné ny difficile à connoître en ces caufes, Louys de faincte Foy m'a affeuré, qu'allant à la guerre, vn de ces Iongleurs, leur predict à point nom-mé la rencontre des Iroquois, au fortir de la Suerie. Il y a bien de la probabilité, que le Diable eftoit en fentinelle pour luy. I'en dirois bien d'autres qui à la verité fe font trouuées fauffes, & fur lesquelles vn bon vieillard me ruit il y a quelque temps. *Ah*, dit-il, *il y a vn plus grand Maître* [136] *que luy*; il parloit d'un certain faux Prophete, qui s'estoit trompé en fon calcul. N'estoit-ce pas bien dit pour vn Sauvage? & n'y a-il pas en cela dequoy efperer quelque chofe de ce que nous cherchons icy.

Les plus fameux d'entre ces Sorciers ou Trompeurs font les *Arendisane*, qui fe meffent de dire à vn malade le point & la qualité de fa maladie, apres vn feftin ou vne Suerie, & le laiffent là. Il eft vray que quelques-vns ordonnent, qui de faire feftin d'un chien, qui de faire croffer, ou ioïer au plat, qui de dormir fur vne telle & telle peau, & autres extrauagances ni-aïfes ou diaboliques; qui vn vomitoire, pour faire fortir le fort s'il y en a; comme ie veis moy-mefme eftant à la Rochelle vne pauvre femme, qui ietta vn charbon gros d'un poulce, apres quelques prifes d'eau; & vn Sauvage m'a affeuré auoir veu fortir du fable de toutes les parties du corps d'une autre qui eftoit ethique, apres que fon *Arendisane* l'eut fecoïée comme on feroit vn crible. Autrefois ces offices d'*Arendisane*

trees?" "It is there," said he, "that it lays in its supply." "Why does it burn Cabins, why does it kill men?" *Chieske?* "How do I know?" he said. That is their refrain when they are driven to the wall. As regards predicting the future which is not remote, nor hard to know for that reason, I have been assured by Louys de sainte Foy that, when they were going to war, one of their Jugglers, as he came forth from the Sweat-box, predicted a meeting with the Iroquois at a certain spot. There is indeed much probability that the Devil was sentinel for him. I could say this of others who, in truth, have been found false, and about whom a good old man entertained me some time ago. *Ah*, said he, *there is a greater Master [136] than he*. He spoke of a certain false Prophet who had been deceived in his calculation. Was it not well said for a Savage? and is there not something in this to inspire some hope in regard to what we are seeking here?

The most famous among these Sorcerers or Deceivers are the *Arendiwane*, who make it their business to tell a sick man the extent and nature of his sickness, after a feast or a Sweat, and leave him there. True, they prescribe for one a dog feast; for another, that a game of crosse or dish should be played; for another, sleep on such and such a skin, and other stupid and diabolical extravagances; another still, an emetic, to make the charm, if there be any, come forth,—as I myself saw, when at la Rochelle, a poor woman who threw up a coal as large as one's thumb, after some doses of water; and a Savage assured me that he had seen sand coming forth from all parts of the body of another, who had hectic fever, after his *Arendiwane* had shaken him as one would shake a sieve.

estoient à plus haut prix qu'à present; ils les ont à cette heure à force de festins. Vn temps fut, qu'il falloit ieufner les trente iours entiers dans vne Cabane à l'efcart, [137] fans que perfonne en approchaft, qu'un feruiteur, qui pour estre digne d'y porter du bois, s'y dispofoit luy-mefme en ieufnant. Les honneurs & les émoluments en font tousiours grands. Ces pauvres gens n'ayans rien de plus cher que cette vie, faute d'en connoistre vne meilleure, mettent tout à cela, au recouurement de leur fanté, & à qui fait mine de les ayder. Il nous ferment quelquefois la bouche, lors que nous les voulons defabufer fur ces charlatanneries, difans, gueriffez nous donc. Si quelque sage & vertueux Medecin vouloit venir icy, il y feroit de belles cures pour les ames, en foulageant les corps; & ie m'affeure que Dieu prendroit plaifir vn iour de luy dire comme à Abraham. *Ego ero merces tua magna nimis.* les miracles de la nature font de grandes difpofitions à ceux de la grace, quand il plaist à l'Autheur des vns & des autres, de s'en feruir.

Ie laiffe à part vne infinité d'autres remarques fur ce fujet, pour raconter vne partie de ce qui a tenu vn mois entier tout ce pays en haleine. Vn Sauvage nommé *Ihong8aha* fongea vne nuict qu'il deuiendroit *Arendi8ane*, c'est à dire maiftre Sorcier, pourueu qu'il ieunaft trente iours fans manger. [138] Le lendemain à fon réueil il trouua cette qualité si honorable & si aduantageufe qu'il se resolut de garder ce ieufne tres-eftroitement. Sur ces entrefaites on l'inuite à vn festin d'*A8tacrohi*: il y en a peu qui fçachent chanter au gré de ce Demon; cettuicy est vn des Maiftres. Il se laiffe enfin emporter, & y mangea si bien & y chanta avec telle contention, qu'il en fortit

Formerly these offices of *Arendiwane* were more valued than they are at present; they have them now at many of the feasts. Time was when it was necessary to fast thirty entire days, in a Cabin apart, [137] without any one approaching it except a servant, who, in order to be worthy of carrying wood there, prepared himself for it by fasting. The honors and emoluments are always great. These poor people, having nothing dearer than this life, knowing nothing of a better, will give their all for the recovery of their health, and to any one who pretends to help them. They sometimes close our mouths when we wish to undeceive them about this charlatanry, saying, "Do you cure us, then." If some wise and upright Physician would come here, he would perform noble cures for their souls, in relieving their bodies; and I am certain God would take pleasure in saying to him some day, as to Abraham, *Ego ero merces tua magna nimis*. The miracles of nature are great aids to those of grace, when it pleases the Author of both to employ them.

I pass by many other remarks on this subject, to relate a part of what has astounded this country for a whole month. A Savage named *Ihongwaha* dreamed one night that he could become *Arendiwane*,—that is, a master Sorcerer,—provided he could fast thirty days without eating. [138] On the morrow, when he awoke, he considered this accomplishment so honorable and so advantageous that he resolved to keep this fast very strictly. In the meantime, he was invited to a feast of *Aoutaerohi*. There are few who can sing to the satisfaction of this Demon; this one is one of the Masters. He allowed himself, at last, to be so carried away, and ate so heartily and sang

la ceruelle en écharpe; le voila en mefme temps la tortuë, ou pour mieux dire la marote à la main, en la faifon la plus fafcheufe de l'hyuer, en l'eftat qu'il eftoit fort du ventre de fa mere, il court par les neiges, & chante nuit & iour; le lendemain, c'eftoit le vingt-huictième de Ianuier, il alla au village d'*Senrio*, où on luy fit trois ou quatre feftins pour fa fanté, & en retourna auffi fol qu'il y eftoit allé. Quelques Sauuages difoient que nous eftions caufes de tout cela, mais les plus fages remarquerent qu'il s'eftoit mocqué lors qu'expliquant les Commandemens de Dieu, i'auois condamné l'*Aftaerohi*, & attribuerens fa folie à vne punition diuine.

La nuit du trente-vn il fongea qu'il luy falloir vn Canot, huict Caftors, deux Rays, fix vingts œufs de Mauue, vne Tortuë, & [139] vn homme qui l'adoptaft pour fon fils; ie vous prie quelle chimere, & cependant on luy doit faire comme vn cataplafme de tout cela pour luy guerir la ceruelle. De fait il n'a pas pluftoft, fait recit de fon fonge, que les anciens du village s'affemblent pour aduifer là deffus; ils fe mettent en peine de luy trouuer ce qu'il auoit demandé avec autant de foin & d'empreflement que s'il euft efté queftion de la conferuation de tout le Pays; le pere du Capitaine le prit pour fon fils, & tout ce qu'il auoit fongé luy fur liuré le mefme iour; pour les œufs de Mauue, ils furent changez en autant de petits pains qui donnerent de l'exercice à toutes les femmes du village. Le feftin fe fit fur le foir, & tout cela fans effect: le Diable n'auoit pas encor tout.

Le premier de Feurier on le danfa derechef, i'euffe fouhaitté que plufieurs Chreftiens euflent affifté à ce fpectacle, ie ne doute point qu'ils n'euffent honte

with so much vehemence that he left the feast with his brain in a sling. See him then with the turtle, or more correctly, with the fool's cap in his hand, in the most trying season of winter,—naked as when he was born, running about in the snow, and singing night and day. Next day—it was the twenty-eighth of January—he went to the village of *Wenrio*, where they made three or four feasts for his health; and he returned thence, as mad as when he went away. Some Savages said we were the cause of this; but the wiser ones remarked that he had mocked when, in explaining the Commandments of God, I had condemned the *Aoutacrohi*; and they attributed his madness to divine punishment.

On the night of the thirty-first, he dreamed that he must have a Canoe, eight Beavers, two Rays, six score Gull's eggs, a Turtle, and [139] a man who would adopt him as his son; just think, what a fancy! and yet they must make for him a cataplasm of all that, to heal his brain. Indeed, he had no sooner recited his dream than the old people of the village met to talk it over. They set about finding what he had asked with as much care and eagerness as if it had been a question of preserving the whole Country; the Captain's father adopted him as his son, and everything he had dreamed was given up to him, the same day; as for the Gull's eggs, they were changed into as many small loaves, which kept busy all the women of the village. The feast took place in the evening, and all without effect. The Devil had not everything yet.

On the first of February, there was another feast; I would have liked several Christians to be present at this sight; I doubt not they would have been

d'eux-mêmes, voyans combien ils symbolisent avec ces Peuples dans leurs folies du carnaval, ils se trauestirent & se déguiferent, non à la verité si richement, mais à peu près aussi ridiculement qu'on fait ailleurs.

Vous en eussiez veu les uns avec un sac [140] en la teste, percé seulement aux yeux, les autres en avoient un plein de paille à l'entour du ventre pour contrefaire les femmes grosses. Plusieurs estoient nus comme la main, blanchis par tout le corps, noirs par le visage comme des Diables, des plumes ou des cornes à la teste; les autres barbouillez de rouge, de noir, & de blanc; enfin chacun se para avec le plus d'extravagance qu'il peut pour danser ce Balet, & contribuer quelque chose à la santé du malade. Mais ie m'oubliais d'une circonstance notable, les bruits de guerre estoient grands, ils estoient dans des alarmes continuelles, on attendoit l'Ennemy à toute heure, on avoit invité toute la jeunesse à se transporter au village d'*Angsiens*, pour travailler à une pallissade de pieux qui n'estoit qu'à demy faite; le Capitaine eut beau crier à pleine teste *enon8 eienti cc8arhakhion*, ieunes gens allons, personne ne s'en remua, ayman mieux escouter ce fol, & executer toutes ses volontez; cette medecine n'opera pas plus que les precedentes.

Après avoir ieufné dix-huict iours, sans manger ce dit-on que du petun, il me vint voir, ie luy donnay sept ou huit raifins, il me remercia, & me dit qu'il en mangeroit [141] un tous les iours, ce n'estoit pas pour rompre son ieufne. Le quatorzième de Feurier faisant la ronde par les Cabanes à son ordinaire, il trouva qu'on preparoit un festin, & alors, Ce fera moy, dit-il, qui feray festin, ie veux que ce soit icy mon festin, & en mesme temps il prend des raquettes, &

ashamed of themselves, seeing how like these Peoples they act in their carnival follies; these dress and disguise themselves, not in truth so richly, but almost as ridiculously as they do elsewhere.

You would have seen some with a sack [140] on the head, pierced only for the eyes; others were stuffed with straw around the middle, to imitate a pregnant woman. Several were naked as the hand, with bodies whitened, and faces as black as Devils, and feathers or horns on their heads; others were smeared with red, black, and white; in short each adorned himself as extravagantly as he could, to dance this Ballet, and contribute something to the health of the sick man. But I would not forget one notable circumstance. The reports of war were serious, they were in continual alarms, they expected the Enemy every hour; all the youth had been invited to go to the village of *Angwiens*,²⁰ to work at a palisade of stakes, that was only half-made. The Captain had to cry in vain, as loudly as he could, *enonou eienti ecwarhakhion*, "Young men, come." No one stirred, preferring to listen to this fool, and to carry out all his wishes. This medicine accomplished no more than the preceding.

After having fasted eighteen days without tasting anything, it was said, except tobacco, he came to see me; I gave him seven or eight raisins; he thanked me and told me he would eat [141] one every day — that was in order not to break his fast. On the fourteenth of February, making the round of Cabins as usual, he found the people preparing a feast; "I shall prepare a feast," said he then, "I wish this to be my feast;" and immediately he took his snowshoes and himself went around to invite the people

s'en va luy mefme pour inuiter ceux des Villages circonuoifins: mais il y a bien de l'apparence qu'il ne fut pas pluftoft en campagne, qu'il s'oublia de fon deffein, car il ne retourna que près de deux fois vingt-quatre heures apres, & fit, où il fe trouua, fept ou huit feftins pour vn. Il luy arriua dit-on en cette courfe trois chofes memorables. La premiere, qu'il n'enfonça point du tout dans les neiges, quoy qu'elles fuflent de trois pieds de haut. La feconde, qu'il se ietta du haut d'une groffe roche fans se bleffer. La troifiéme, qu'estant de retour il ne parut non plus mouillé, & fes fouliers auffi secs, que s'il n'eust pas mis le pied hors la Cabane: celuy qui nous racontoit cecy, adioufta qu'il ne falloir pas s'en eftonner, qu'un Diable le conduifoit. Sur la fin de fa maladie il me fit prier de l'aller voir; ie le trouuay en apparence en affez bon fens; il me raconta le progrès, & la caufe de fa maladie, [142] qu'il attribuoit à la rupture de fon ieufne, & me dit qu'il estoit refolu d'aller iufques au bout, c'est à dire iufques au terme que fon fonge luy auoit ordonné. Vn autre iour il nous vint vifiter, & nous dit, que c'estoit tout de bon qu'il estoit devenu *oki*, c'est à dire Demon, c'estoit bien encherir par deffus la qualité de Sorcier, à laquelle feulement il aspiroit, toutefois il n'estoit pas hors de fa folie; il luy fallut encor refuer une bonne fois pour en fortir; il fongea donc qu'il n'y auoit qu'une certaine forte de danfe, qui luy peult rendre tout à fait la fanté. Ils l'appellent *akhrendoiaen*, d'autant que ceux qui font de cette danfe, s'entredonnent du poifon; elle n'auoit iamais esté pratiquée parmy cette Nation des Ours: la faifon estoit fort facheufe, la troupe estoit grande, & ne pouoit qu'apporter beaucoup de defordre dans

of the neighboring Villages. But it seems probable that he was no sooner in the country than he forgot his errand; for he only returned almost forty-eight hours later, and made, where he was, seven or eight feasts for one. It is said there happened to him on this journey three memorable things. The first, that he was not buried in the snow, though it was three feet deep. The second, that he threw himself from the top of a large rock, without being hurt. The third, that when he came back he was not at all wet, and his shoes were as dry as if he had not set foot outside the Cabin. The one who told us this added that no one need be astonished,—that a Devil had guided him. At the end of his sickness, he begged me to go to see him; I found him, to all appearances, perfectly right in his mind. He told me the progress and cause of his malady, [142] which he attributed to the breaking of his fast; and he told me he had resolved to go on to the end,—that is, during the term prescribed by his dream. Another day, he visited us, and told us that it was in earnest he had become *oki*, that is to say, Demon. This was to rise above the title of Sorcerer, to which alone he aspired; still he was not free from his madness,—he must yet dream, once for all, to free himself from it. He dreamed, therefore, that there was only one certain kind of dance which would make him quite well. They call it *akhrendoiaen*, inasmuch as those who take part in this dance give poison to one another. It had never been practiced among this Nation of the Bear. The season was very disagreeable, the company very large, and it could only create a great deal of disorder in a little Village; all these considerations did not stop them. So, behold, couriers are

vn petit Village; on ne s'arresta point à toutes ces considerations. Voila incontinent des courriers en campagne, quize iours se passent à les assembler; la bande estoit composée d'environ quatre-vingts personnes, il y auoit six femmes; ils se mettent en chemin sans delay; il faut remarquer icy qu'ils estiment que le ieufne leur rend la veuë perçante à [143] merueille, & leur donne des yeux capables de voir les choses absentes & les plus éloignées, n'est ce pas renuerfer toute l'Escole, qui tient, ce me semble, que rien n'affoiblit tant la veuë, que le ieufne excessif; quoy que c'en soit, il y a bien de l'apparence que nostre fol n'auoit pas encor assez ieufné, car sa veuë le trompa bien fort, & commença fort mal pour se mettre en credit de Prophete. La troupe n'estoit pas partie, qu'il la faisoit à deux lieux du Village.

Or estans arriuez environ à la portée d'un mouffet, ils s'arrestèrent & se mirent à chanter; ceux du Village leur répondirent. Dès le soir mesme de leur arriuée ils danferent, pour prendre cognoissance de la maladie, le malade estoit au milieu de la Cabane sur vne natte; la danse finie, parce qu'il estoit tombé à la renuerse, & auoit vomy, ils le declarerent tout à fait de la Confrairie des fols, & en vinrent au remede qui leur est ordinaire en cette maladie, & qui feroit capable de les faire passer pour tels, quand ils feroient les plus sages du monde. C'est la danse qu'ils appellent *Otakrendoiaë*, les Confreres *Atirenda*. I'en décrirais les particularitez, si ie n'auois peur d'estre trop long. Ce sera pour vne autre fois, si j'apprends [144] qu'on desire les sçauoir. Suffit pour le present de dire en general, que iamais les Bacchantes forcenées du temps passé ne firent rien de plus furieux en leurs

sent immediately in all directions; a fortnight passes in assembling the company, which is composed of about eighty persons, including six women; they set off without delay. Here I must remark that they think fasting renders their vision wonderfully piercing, [143] and gives them eyes capable of seeing things absent and far removed. Is not this to overthrow the belief of all that School, who, if I am not mistaken, hold that nothing so much weakens the sight as excessive fasting? However that may be, there is considerable ground for the belief that our madman had not yet fasted enough, for his sight deceived him very thoroughly, and did not help increase his reputation as a Prophet. The troop had not set out when he declared it was two leagues from the Village.

Now having arrived within musket-range, they stopped and began to sing; those of the Village replied. From the evening of their arrival, they danced, in order to get an understanding of the disease; the sick man was in the middle of the Cabin, on a mat. The dance being ended, because he had fallen over backward and vomited, they declared him to belong entirely to the Brotherhood of lunatics; and came to the remedy therefor which is usual in this disease, and which would be sufficient to make them pass for fools, even if they were the wisest men in the world. It is the dance they call *Otakrendoiaë*; the Brethren they call *Atirenda*. I would describe the details of it, were I not afraid of being too long. I will do so another time, if I learn [144] that there is any desire to know them. Let it suffice for the present to say, in general, that never did frenzied Bacchantes of bygone times do anything more

orgyes. C'est icy à l'entretuer, disent-ils, par des forts qu'ils s'entreiettent, dont la composition est d'ongles d'Ours, de dents de Loup, d'ergots d'Aigles, de certaines pierres, & de nerfs de Chien. C'est à rendre du sang par la bouche, & par les narines, ou pluſtoſt d'une poudre rouge qu'ils prennent ſubtilement, eſtans tombez ſous le fort, & bleſſez. Et dix mille autres ſottifies que ie laiſſe volontiers. Le plus grand mal eſt, que ces malheureux ſous pretexte de charité vengent ſouvent leurs iniures, & donnent à deſſein un boucon à leurs malades au lieu de medecine. Ce qui y eſt de plus remarquable, eſt l'experience qu'ils ont pour guerir les ruptures, à quoy s'entendent auſſi pluſieurs autres en ces quartiers. La ſuperſtition la plus notoire eſt, que leurs drogues & leurs onguens ſe plaifent, à leur dire, au ſilence & aux tenebres. S'ils ſont recogneus, ou ſi leur ſecret eſt découuert, il eſt ſans ſucces. L'origine de toute cette folie vient d'un nommé *Oatarra*, ou d'une petite idole en forme d'une poupée, qu'il demanda, [145] pour ſa guerifon à une douzaine d'Enchanteurs qui l'eſtoient venus voir, & laquelle ayant mis en ſon ſac de Petun, elle ſe remua là dedans, ordonna les banquets, & autres ceremonies de la danſe, à ce qu'ils cōtent. Certes, voila biẽ des fornettes, & i'ay bien peur qu'il n'y ait quelque choſe de plus noir & de plus caché.

furious in their orgies. It is a question of killing one another here, they say, by charms which they throw at each other, and which are composed of Bears' claws, Wolves' teeth, Eagles' talons, certain stones, and Dogs' sinews. Having fallen under the charm and been wounded, blood pours from the mouth and nostrils, or it is simulated by a red powder they take by stealth; and there are ten thousand other absurdities, that I willingly pass over. The greatest evil is, that these wretches, under pretext of charity, often avenge their injuries, and purposely give poison to their patients, instead of medicine. What is very remarkable is their experience in healing ruptures, wherein many others in these regions are also skillful. The most extraordinary superstition is that their drugs and ointments take pleasure, so to speak, in silence and darkness. If they are recognized, or if their secret is discovered, success is not to be expected. The origin of all this folly comes from one named *Oatarra*, or from a little idol in the form of a doll, which he asked, [145] for the sake of being cured, from a dozen Sorcerers who had come to see him; having put it into his Tobacco pouch, it began to stir therein, and ordered the banquets and other ceremonies of the dance, according to what they say. Certainly you have here many silly things, and I am much afraid there may be something darker and more occult in them.

CHAPITRE VI.

DE LA POLICE DES HURONS, & DE LEUR GOUVERNEMENT.

IE ne pretends pas icy mettre nos Sauvages en parallele avec les Chinois, Japonnois, & autres Nations parfaitement ciuivilisées; mais feulement les tirer de la condition des bestes, où l'opinion de quelques-vns les a reduits, leur donner rang parmy les hommes, & faire paroistre qu'il y a mesme parmy eux quelque espece de vie Politique & Ciuile. C'est déjà beaucoup à mon aduis de dire qu'ils vivent affemblez dans des Villages, quelquefois iusques à cinquante, foixante, & cent Cabanes, c'est à dire trois cens & [146] quatre cens ménages; qu'ils cultiuent des champs, d'où ils tirent à suffisance pour leur nourriture de toute l'année, & qu'ils s'entretiennent en paix & amitié les vns avec les autres. Il est vray que ie ne pense pas qu'il y ayt peut-estre Nation souz le ciel plus recōmandable en ce point qu'est la Nation des Ours; ostez quelques mauuais esprits qui se rencontrent quasi par tout, ils ont vne douceur, & vne affabilité quasi incroyable pour des Sauvages; ils ne se picquent pas aisément: & encor s'ils croient auoir receu quelque tort de quelqu'un, ils dissimulent souuent le ressentiment qu'ils en ont; au moins en trouue-on icy fort peu qui s'échapent en public pour la colere, & la vengeance. Ils se maintiennent dans cette si parfaite intelligence par les frequentes visites,

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE POLITY OF THE HURONS, AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

I DO not claim here to put our Savages on a level with the Chinese, Japanese, and other Nations perfectly civilized; but only to put them above the condition of beasts, to which the opinion of some has reduced them, to give them rank among men, and to show that even among them there is some sort of Political and Civil life. It is, in my opinion, a great deal to say that they live assembled in Villages, with sometimes as many as fifty, sixty, and one hundred Cabins,—that is, three hundred and [146] four hundred households; that they cultivate the fields, from which they obtain sufficient for their support during the year; and that they maintain peace and friendship with one another. I certainly believe that there is not, perhaps, under heaven a Nation more praiseworthy in this respect than the Nation of the Bear. Leaving out some evil-minded persons, such as one meets almost everywhere, they have a gentleness and affability almost incredible for Savages. They are not easily annoyed, and, moreover, if they have received wrong from any one they often conceal the resentment they feel,—at least, one finds here very few who make a public display of anger and vengeance. They maintain themselves in this perfect harmony by frequent visits, by help they give one another in sickness, by feasts and by

les fecours qu'ils se donnent mutuellement dans leurs maladies, par les festins, & les alliance[s]. Si leurs champs, la pefche, la chaffe, ou la traitte ne les occupe ils font moins en leurs Cabanes que chez leurs amis; s'ils tombent malades, & qu'ils defirent quelque chofe pour leur fanté, c'est à qui se montrera le plus obligeant. S'ils ont vn bon morceau, ie l'ay déjà dit, ils [147] en font festin à leurs amis, & ne le mangēt quafi iamais en leur particulier. Dans leurs mariages il y a cecy de remarquable, qu'ils ne se marient iamais dans la parenté en quelque degré que ce foit ou direct, ou collateral, mais font toufiours de nouvelles alliances, ce qui n'est pas vn petit auantage pour maintenir l'amitié. Dauantage en cette frequentatiō fi ordinaire, comme ils ont la plus part l'efprit affez bon, ils s'éueillent & se façonnent merueilleufement; de forte qu'il n'y en a quafi point qui ne foit capable d'entretien, & ne raisonne fort bien, & en bons termes, fur les chofes dont il a la cognoiffance: ce qui les forme encor dans le difcours font les confeils qui se tiennent quafi tous les iours dans les Villages en toutes occurrences: & quoy que les anciens y tiennent le haut bout, & que ce foit de leur iugement que dépende la decifion des affaires; neantmoins s'y trouue qui veut, & chacun a droit d'y dire fon aduis. Adioûtez mefme que l'honnefteté, la courtoisie & la ciuilité, qui est comme la fleur & l'aggrément de la conuerfation ordinaire & humaine, ne laiffe pas encor de se remarquer parmy ces Peuples; ils [148] appellent vn homme ciuil *Aiendaſasti*. A la verité vous n'y voyez pas tous ces baife-mains, ces complimens, & ces vaines offres de feruice, qui ne paſſent pas le bout des léures; mais neantmoins ils se rendent de

alliances. When they are not busy with their fields, hunting, fishing, or trading, they are less in their own Houses than in those of their friends; if they fall sick, or desire anything for their health, there is a rivalry as to who will show himself most obliging. If they have something better than usual, as I have already said, they [147] make a feast for their friends, and hardly ever eat it alone. In their marriages there is this remarkable custom,—they never marry any one related in any degree whatever, either direct or collateral; but always make new alliances, which is not a little helpful in maintaining friendship. Moreover, by this so common habit of frequent visitation, as they are for the most part fairly intelligent, they arouse and influence one another wonderfully; so that there are almost none of them incapable of conversing or reasoning very well, and in good terms, on matters within their knowledge. The councils, too, held almost every day in the Villages, and on almost all matters, improve their capacity for talking; and, although it is the old men who have control there, and upon whose judgment depend the decisions made, yet every one who wishes may be present, and has the right to express his opinion. Let it be added, also, that the propriety, the courtesy, and the civility which are, as it were, the flower and charm of ordinary human conversation, are to some extent observed among these Peoples; they [148] call a polite person *Aiendawasti*. To be sure, you do not observe among them any of those hand-kissings, compliments, and those vain offers of service which do not pass beyond the lips; but, nevertheless, they render certain duties to one another, and preserve, through a sense of propriety, certain customs in their

certaines devoirs les vns aux autres, & gardent par bien-sceance de certaines coustumes en leurs visites, dâses, & festins, aufquelles si quelqu'un auoit manqué, il ne manqueroit pas d'estre releué sur l'heure; & s'il faisoit fouuent de semblables pas de clerc, il passeroit bien tost en proverbe par le village, & perdrait tout à fait son credit. A la rencontre pour toute saluade, ils s'appellent chacun de leur nom, ou disent mon amy, mon camarade, mon oncle, si c'est un ancien. Si un Sauvage se trouue en vostre Cabane lors que vous mangez, & que vous luy presentiez vostre plat, n'y ayant encor guieres touché, il se contentera d'en goûter, & vous le rendra. Que si vous luy presentez un plat en particulier, il n'y portera pas la main qu'il n'en ait fait part à ses compagnons; & ceux-cy se contentent d'ordinaire d'en prendre une cuillerée. Ce sont petites choses à la verité, mais qui monstrent neantmoins que ces Peuples [149] ne sont pas tout à fait si rudes & mal polis que quelqu'un se pourroit bien figurer. En outre, si les loix sont comme la maistresse rouë qui regle les Communautéz, ou pour mieux dire l'ame des Republiques: il me semble que i'ay droit, eu égard à cette si parfaite intelligence qu'ils ont entr'eux, de maintenir qu'ils ne sont pas sans loix. Ils punissent les meurtriers, les larrons, les traistres, & les Sorciers: & pour les meurtriers quoy qu'ils ne tiennent pas la feuerité que faisoient iadis leurs ancestres, neantmoins le peu de desordre qu'il y a en ce point, me fait iuger que leur procedure n'est guieres moins efficace qu'est ailleurs le supplice de la mort: car les parens du defunct ne poursuivent pas seulement celui qui a fait le meurtre, mais s'adressent à tout le Village, qui

visits, dances, and feasts,—in which if any one failed, he would certainly be criticised on the spot; and, if he often made such blunders, he would soon become a byword in the village, and would lose all his influence. When they meet, the only salutation they give is to call the other by name, or say, “my friend, my comrade,”—“my uncle,” if it is an old man. If a Savage finds himself in your Cabin when you are eating, and if you present to him your dish, having scarcely touched anything, he will content himself with tasting it, and will hand it back to you. But, if you give him a dish for himself, he will not put his hand to it until he has shared it with his companions; and they content themselves usually with taking a spoonful of it. These are little things, of course; but they show nevertheless that these Peoples [149] are not quite so rude and unpolished as one might suppose. Besides, if laws are like the governing wheel regulating Communities,—or to be more exact, are the soul of Commonwealths,—it seems to me that, in view of the perfect understanding that reigns among them, I am right in maintaining that they are not without laws. They punish murderers, thieves, traitors, and Sorcerers; and, in regard to murderers, although they do not preserve the severity of their ancestors towards them, nevertheless the little disorder there is among them in this respect makes me conclude that their procedure is scarcely less efficacious than is the punishment of death elsewhere; for the relatives of the deceased pursue not only him who has committed the murder, but address themselves to the whole Village, which must give satisfaction for it, and furnish, as soon as possible, for this purpose as many as sixty presents,

en doit faire raifon, & fournir au pluſtoît pour cét effet iufques à foixante prefens, dont les moindres doiuent eſtre de la valeur d'une robe neufue de Caſtor: le Capitaine les prefente luy meſme en perſonne, & fait une longue harangue à chaque prefent qu'il offre; de façon que les iournées entieres ſe paſſent quelquefois dans cette ceremonie. [150] Il y a deux fortes de prefens; les uns, tels que ſont les neuf premiers qu'ils appellent *andaonhaan*, ſe mettent entre les mains des parens, pour faire la paix, & oſter de leur cœur toute l'aigreur, & les deſirs de vengeance, qu'ils pourroient auoir contre la perſonne du meurtrier: les autres ſe mettent ſur une perche, qui eſt étendue au deſſus de la teſte du mort, & les appelleſt *Andaerraeahan*; c'eſt à dire qui ſe mettent ſur la perche. Or chacun de ces prefens a ſon nom particulier. Voicy ceux des neuf premiers, qui ſont les plus conſiderables, & quelque fois chacun de mille grains de Pourcelaine. Le Capitaine parlant, & hauſſant ſa voix au nom du coupable, & tenant en ſa main le premier prefent, comme ſi la hache eſtoit encor dans la playe du mort, *condayee onſahachſtaſas*; voila, dit-il, dequoy il retire la hache de la playe, & la fait tomber des mains de celui qui voudroit venger cette iniure. Au ſecond prefent, *condayee ofcotaſeanon*; voila dequoy il effuie le ſang de la playe de ſa teſte: par ces deux prefens il témoigne le regret qu'il a de l'auoir tué, & qu'il feroit tout preſt de luy rendre la vie ſ'il eſtoit poſſible. [151] Toutefois comme ſi le coup auoit reially ſur la Patrie, & comme ſi le Païs auoit receu la plus grande playe; il adioute au troiſième prefent, en diſant *condayee onſahondechari*; voila pour remettre le Païs en eſtat, *condayee onſahon-*

the least of which must be of the value of a new Beaver robe. The Captain presents them in person, and makes a long harangue at each present that he offers, so that entire days sometimes pass in this ceremony. [150] There are two sorts of presents; some, like the first nine, which they call *andaonhaan*, are put into the hands of the relatives to make peace, and to take away from their hearts all bitterness and desire for vengeance that they might have against the person of the murderer. The others are put on a pole, which is raised above the head of the murderer, and are called *Andaerraahaan*, that is to say, "what is hung upon a pole." Now each of these presents has its particular name. Here are those of the first nine, which are the most important, and sometimes each one of them consists of a thousand Porcelain beads. The Captain, speaking, and raising his voice at the name of the guilty person, and holding in his hand the first present as if the hatchet were still in the death wound, *condayee onahachoutawas*, "There," says he, "is something by which he withdraws the hatchet from the wound, and makes it fall from the hands of him who would wish to avenge this injury." At the second present, *condayee oscotaweanon*, "There is something with which he wipes away the blood from the wound in the head." By these two presents he signifies his regret for having killed him, and that he would be quite ready to restore him to life, if it were possible. [151] Yet, as if the blow had rebounded on their Native Land, and as if it had received the greater wounds, he adds the third present, saying, *condayee onahondechari*, "This is to restore the Country;" *condayee onahondwaronti, ctoton-hwentsiai*, "This is to put a stone upon the opening

d8aronti, etotonh8entfiat; voila pour mettre vne pierre dessus l'ouuerture & la diuision de la terre, qui s'estoit faite par ce meurtre. Les metaphores sont grandement en vſage parmy ces Peuples; ſi vous ne vous y faites, vous n'entendez rien dans leurs confeils, où ils ne parlent quaſi que par metaphores. Ils pretendēt par ce preſent reünir les cœurs & les volontez, & meſmes les Villages entiers, qui auoient eſté comme diuiſez. Car ce n'eſt pas icy comme en France & ailleurs, où le public & toute vne ville entiere n'épouſe pas ordinairement la querelle d'un particulier. Icy vous n'y ſçauriez outrager qui que ce ſoit, que tout le Païs ne s'en reſſente, & ne ſe porte contre vous, & meſme contre tout un Village; c'eſt de là que naiſſent les guerres, & c'eſt un ſujet plus que ſuffiſant de prendre les armes contre quelque Village, quand il reſuſe de ſatisfaire par les preſence [preſents] ordonnez [152] pour celuy qui vous auroit tué quelqu'un des voſtres. Le cinquième ſe fait pour aplanner les chemins, & en oſter les broſſailles, *condayee onſa hannonkiai*, c'eſt à dire afin qu'on puiſſe aller doreſnauant en toute ſeureté par les chemins, & de Village en Village. Les quatre autres ſ'adreſſent immédiatement aux parēs, pour les conſoler en leur affliction, & eſſuyer leurs larmes, *condayee onſa hoheronti*; voila, dit-il, pour luy donner à petuner, parlant de ſon pere, de ſa mere, ou de celuy qui ſeroit pour venger ſa mort; ils ont cette creance qu'il n'y a rien ſi propre que le Petun pour appaiſer les paſſions; c'eſt pourquoy ils ne ſe trouuent iamais aux confeils que la pippe ou calumet à la bouche; cette fumée qu'ils prennent leur donne, diſent-ils, de l'eſprit, & leur fait voir clair dans les affaires les plus embrouïl-

and the division of the ground that was made by this murder." Metaphor is largely in use among these Peoples; unless you accustom yourself to it, you will understand nothing in their councils, where they speak almost entirely in metaphors. They claim by this present to reunite all hearts and wills, and even entire Villages, which have become estranged. For it is not here as it is in France and elsewhere, where the public and a whole city do not generally espouse the quarrel of an individual. Here you cannot insult any one of them without the whole Country resenting it, and taking up the quarrel against you, and even against an entire Village. Hence arise wars; and it is a more than sufficient reason for taking arms against some Village if it refuse to make satisfaction by the presents ordained [152] for him who may have killed one of your friends. The fifth is made to smooth the roads and to clear away the brushwood; *condayee onsa hannonkiai*, that is to say, in order that one may go henceforth in perfect security over the roads, and from Village to Village. The four others are addressed immediately to the relatives, to console them in their affliction and to wipe away their tears, *condayee onsa hoheronti*, "Behold," says he, "here is something for him to smoke," speaking of his father or his mother, or of the one who would avenge his death. They believe that there is nothing so suitable as Tobacco to appease the passions; that is why they never attend a council without a pipe or calumet in their mouths. The smoke, they say, gives them intelligence, and enables them to see clearly through the most intricate matters.²¹ Also, following this present, they make another to restore completely the mind of the offended

lées. Aussi en fuite de ce present on en fait vn autre pour remettre tout à fait l'esprit à la personne offensée, *condayee onsa hondionroenkhra*. Le huitiesme est pour donner vn breuuage à la mere du defunct, & la guerir comme estant griefuement malade à l'occasion de la mort de son fils, *condayee onsa a8eannonc8a* [153] *d'oc8eton*. Enfin le neuſiême est, comme pour luy mettre, & étendre vne natte, sur laquelle elle se repose, & se couche durant le temps de son deuil, *condayee onsa hohiendacn*. Voila les principaux presens, les autres sont comme vn furecroist de consolation, & representent toutes les choses dont se seruoit le mort pendant sa vie; l'vn s'appellera sa robbe, l'autre son collier, l'autre son Canot, l'autre son airon, sa rets, son arc, ses fleches, & ainsi des autres. Apres cela, les parès du defunt se tiennēt plainemēt satisfaits. Autrefois les parties ne s'accordoient pas si aisémēt, & à si peu de frais: car outre que le public payoit tous ces presens, la personne coupable estoit obligée de fubir vne honte, & vne peine que quelques-vns n'estimeroient peut estre gueres moins insupportable que la mort mesme. On étendoit le mort sur des perches, & le meurtrier estoit contraint de se tenir deffous, & receuoir deffus foy le pus qui alloit degoutant de ce cadaure; on luy metoit aupres de luy vn plat pour son manger, qui estoit incontinent plein de l'ordure & du sang pourry qui peu à peu en tomboit, & pour obtenir feulemēt que le plat fust tāt [154] soit peu reculé, il luy en couſtoit vn present de sept cens grains de Pourcelaine, qu'ils appelloient *hassaendista*; pour luy il demeuroit en cēt estat tant & si long temps qu'il plaifoit aux parens du defunct; & encore apres cela pour en fortir luy falloit-il faire

person, *condayee onsa hondionroenkhra*. The eighth is to give a drink to the mother of the deceased, and to heal her as being seriously sick on account of the death of her son, *condayee onsa aweannoncwa* [153] *d'ocweton*. Finally, the ninth is, as it were, to place and stretch a mat for her, on which she may rest herself and sleep during the time of her mourning, *condayee onsa hohiendaen*. These are the principal presents,—the others are, as it were, an increase of consolation, and represent all the things that the dead man would use during life. One will be called his robe, another his belt, another his Canoe, another his paddle, his net, his bow, his arrows, and so on. After this, the relatives of the deceased regard themselves as perfectly satisfied. Formerly, the parties did not come to terms so easily, and at so little expense; for, besides that the public paid all these presents, the guilty person was obliged to endure an indignity and punishment that some will perhaps consider almost as insupportable as death itself. The dead body was stretched upon a scaffold, and the murderer was compelled to remain lying under it and to receive upon himself all the putrid matter which exuded from the corpse; they put beside him a dish of food, which was soon filled with the filth and corrupt blood which little by little fell into it; and merely to get the dish [154] pushed back ever so little would cost him a present of seven hundred Porcelain beads, which they called *hassaendista*; as for the murderer, he remained in this position as long as the relatives of the deceased pleased, and, even after that, to escape it he had to make a rich present called *akhiataendista*. If, however, the relatives of the dead man avenged themselves for this injury by the death of him who

vn riche present qu'ils appelloient *akhiataendiſla*. Que ſi les parens du mort ſe vengeoient de cette iniure, par la mort de celuy qui auoit fait le coup, toute la peine retomboit de leur coſté; c'eſtoit auſſi à eux à faire des prefens à ceux meſmes qui auoient tué les premiers, ſans que ceux cy fuſſent obligez à aucune ſatisfaction, pour montrer combien ils eſtiment que la vengeance eſt deteſtable, puis que les crimes les plus noirs, tel qu'eſt le meurtre, ne paroïſſent quaſi rien en ſa preſence, qu'elle les abolit, & attire deſſus ſoy toute la peine qu'ils meritent. Voila pour ce qui eſt du meurtre: les bleſſeures à ſang ne ſe guerriſſent auſſi qu'à force de preſence [presents], de colliers, de haches, ſelon que la playe eſt plus ou moins notable.

Ils puniſſent auſſi ſeulement les Sorciers, c'eſt à dire, ceux qui ſe meſſent d'empoïſonner, & faire mourir par fort; [155] & cette peine eſt autorifée du conſentement de tout le Païs; de forte que quiconque les prend ſur le fait, il a tout droit de leur fendre la teſte, & en défaire le monde ſans crainte d'en eſtre recherché, ou obligé de faire aucune ſatisfaction.

Pour les larrons, quoy que le Païs en ſoit remply, ils ne ſont pas-pourtant tolerez; ſi vous trouuez quel-qu'un faiſi de quelque choſe qui vous appartienne, vous pouuez en bonne conſcience iouer au Roy dépoüillé, & prendre ce qui eſt voſtre, & avec cela le mettre nud comme la main; ſi c'eſt à la peſche, luy enleuer ſon Canot, ſes rets, ſon poiſſon, ſa robbe, tout ce qu'il a: il eſt vray qu'en cette occaſion le plus fort l'emporte: tant y a que voila la couſtume du Païs, qui ne laiſſe pas d'en tenir pluſieurs en leur deuoir.

Or ſ'ils ont quelque eſpece de Loix qui les main-

gave the blow, all the punishment fell on them; it was their part also to make presents to those even who were the first murderers, without the latter being obliged to give any satisfaction,—to show how detestable they regard vengeance; since the blackest crimes, such as murder, appear as nothing in comparison with it, as it does away with them and attracts to itself all the punishment that they merit. So much for murder. Bloody wounds, also, are healed only by means of these presents, such as belts or hatchets, according as the wound is more or less serious.

They also punish Sorcerers severely, that is, those who use poisoning, and cause death by charms; [155] and this punishment is authorized by the consent of the whole Country, so that whoever takes them in the act has full right to cleave their skulls and rid the world of them, without fear of being called to account, or obliged to give any satisfaction for it.

As to thieves, although the Country is full of them, they are not, however, tolerated. If you find any one possessed of anything that belongs to you, you can in good conscience play the despoiled King and take what is yours, and besides leave him as naked as your hand. If he is fishing, you can take from him his Canoe, his nets, his fish, his robe, all he has; it is true that on such an occasion the strongest gains the day,—still, such is the custom of the Country, and it certainly holds some to their duty.

Besides having some kind of Laws maintained among themselves, there is also a certain order established as regards foreign Nations. And first, concerning commerce; several families have their own

tiennent entre eux, il y a auffi quelque ordre estably pour ce qui regarde les Peuples estrangers: & premierement pour le commerce; plusieurs familles ont leurs traittes particulieres, & celuy-là est censé Maître d'une traitte qui en a fait le premier la découverte: les enfans [156] entrent dans le droict de leurs parens pour ce regard, & ceux qui portent le mesme nom; personne n'y va sans son congé, qui ne se donne qu'à force de presens; il en associe tant & si peu qu'il veut; s'il a beaucoup de marchandise c'est son aduantage d'y aller en fort petite compagnie, car ainsi il enleue tout ce qu'il veut dans le Païs: c'est en cecy que consiste le plus beau de leurs richesses. Que si quelqu'un estoit si hardy que d'aller à une traitte, sans le congé de celuy qui en est le Maître, il peut bien faire ses affaires en secret & à la defrobée, car s'il est surpris par le chemin, on ne luy fera pas meilleur traitement qu'à un larron, & il ne rapportera que son corps à la maison, ou il faut qu'il soit en bonne compagnie: que s'il retourne bagues fauues, on se contente de s'en plaindre, sans en faire autre poursuite.

Dans les guerres mesmes où regne souuent la confusion, ils ne laissent pas d'y tenir quelque ordre: ils n'en entreprennent point sans suiet, & le suiet le plus ordinaire qu'ils ayent de prendre les armes, est lors que quelque Nation refuse de satisfaire pour quelque mort, & de [157] four[n]ir les presens que requierent les conuentions faites entre eux; ils prennent ce refus pour un acte d'hostilité, & tout le païs mesme espouse cette querelle: sur tout les parens du mort s'estiment obligez par honneur de s'en ressentir, & font une leuée pour leur courir sus. Je ne parle

private trades, and he is considered Master of one line of trade who was the first to discover it. The children [156] share the rights of their parents in this respect, as do those who bear the same name; no one goes into it without permission, which is given only in consideration of presents; he associates with him as many or as few as he wishes. If he has a good supply of merchandise, it is to his advantage to divide it with few companions, for thus he secures all that he desires, in the Country; it is in this that most of their riches consist. But if any one should be bold enough to engage in a trade without permission from him who is Master, he may do a good business in secret and concealment; but, if he is surprised by the way, he will not be better treated than a thief,—he will only carry back his body to his house, or else he must be well accompanied. If he returns with his baggage safe, there will be some complaint about it, but no further prosecution.

Even in wars, where confusion often reigns, they do not fail to keep some order. They never undertake them without reason; and the commonest reason for their taking arms is when some Nation refuses to give satisfaction for the death of some one, and to [157] furnish the presents required by the agreements made between them; they take this refusal as an act of hostility, and the whole country espouses the quarrel; in particular, the relatives of the dead man consider themselves obliged in honor to resent it, and raise a force to attack them. I am not speaking of the leadership they display in their wars, and of their military discipline; that comes better from Monsieur de Champlain, who is personally acquainted with it, having held command among them. More-

point de la conduite qu'ils tiennent en leurs guerres, & de leur discipline militaire, cela vient mieux à Monsieur de Champlain qui s'y est trouué en personne, & y a commandé; aussi en a-t-il parlé amplement, & fort pertinemment, comme de tout ce qui regarde les mœurs de ces Nations barbares. Je diray seulement, que si Dieu leur faisoit la grace d'embrasser la Foy, ie trouuerois à reformer en quelques vnes de leurs procedures; car premierement il y en a tel qui leuera vne troupe de ieunes gens deliberez plustost, ce semble, pour venger vne querelle particuliere, & la mort d'un amy, que pour l'honneur & la conseruation de la Patrie: & puis quand ils peuuent tenir quelques-vns de leurs ennemis ils les traittent avec toute la cruauté qu'ils se peuuent imaginer: les cinq & six iours se passeront quelquefois à assouir leur rage, & les bruler à petit [158] feu, & ne se contentent pas de leur voir la peau toute grillée, ils leur ouurent les iambes, les cuisses, les bras, & les parties les plus charnuës, & y fourrent des tisons ardens, ou des haches toutes rouges; quelquefois au milieu de ces tourmens ils les obligent à chanter; & ceux qui ont du courage le font, & vomissent mille imprecations cõtre ceux qui les tourmentēt: le iour de leur mort il faut encor qu'ils pafsēt par là, s'ils ont les forces; & quelquefois la chaudiere dãs laquelle on les doit mettre boüillir fera sur le feu, que ces pauvres miserables chanteront encore à pleine teste. Cette inhumanité est tout à fait intolerable; aussi plusieurs ne se trouuent pas volontiers à ces funestes banquets. Apres les auoir enfin affommé, s'ils estoient vaillās hommes, ils leur arrachēt le cœur, le font griller sur les charbons, & le distribuent en pieces à la ieunesse;

over, he has spoken of it fully and very pertinently, as of everything which concerns the manners of these barbarous Nations. I will only say that, if God gives them the grace to embrace the Faith, I shall find certain matters in some of their procedures to reform; for, in the first place, there are some who raise a band of resolute young braves for the purpose, it seems, of avenging a private quarrel and the death of a friend, rather than for the honor and preservation of the Fatherland,—and then, when they seize some of their enemies, they treat them with all the cruelty they can devise. Five or six days will sometimes pass in assuaging their wrath, and in burning them at a slow [158] fire; and they are not satisfied with seeing their skins entirely roasted,—they open the legs, the thighs, the arms, and the most fleshy parts, and thrust therein glowing brands, or red-hot hatchets. Sometimes in the midst of these torments they compel them to sing; and those who have the courage do it, and hurl forth a thousand imprecations against those who torment them; on the day of their death they must even outdo this, if they have strength; and sometimes the kettle in which they are to be boiled will be on the fire, while these poor wretches are still singing as loudly as they can. This inhumanity is altogether intolerable; and so many do not go willingly to these baleful feasts. After having at last brained a victim, if he was a brave man, they tear out his heart, roast it on the coals, and distribute it in pieces to the young men; they think that this renders them courageous. Others make an incision in the upper part of their necks and cause some of his blood to run into it,—which has, they say, this virtue, that since they have mingled

ils estiment que cela les rēd courageux : d'autres leur font vne incision au dessus du col, & y font couler de leur sang, qui a, disent-ils, cette vertu, que depuis qu'ils l'ont ainsi meslé avec le leur, ils ne peuuent iamais estre surpris de l'ennemy, & ont tousiours connoissance de ses approches, pour secrettes [159] qu'elles puissent estre. On les met par morceaux en la chaudiere ; & quoy qu'aux autres festins la teste, soit d'un Ours, soit d'un Chien, d'un Cerf, ou d'un grand poisson est le morceau du Capitaine ; en cetuy-cy la teste se donne au plus malotru de la compagnie : en effet quelques-vns ne goustent de ce mets non plus que de tout le reste du corps, qu'avec beaucoup d'horreur : il y en a qui en mangent avec plaisir ; i'ay veu des Sauvages en nostre Cabane parler avec appetit de la chair d'un Iroquois, & louer sa bonté en mesmes termes que l'on feroit la chair d'un Cerf, ou d'un Orignac : c'est estre bien cruel ; mais nous esperons avec l'assistance du Ciel, que la cognoissance du vray Dieu bannira tout à fait de ce Païs cette barbarie. Au reste pour la garde du Païs, ils entourēt les principaux Villages d'une forte pallissade de pieux, pour soutenir un siege : ils entretiennent des pensionnaires dans les Nations neutres, ou mesmes parmy les ennemis, par le moyen desquels ils font aduertis souz main de toutes leurs menées : il font bien si aduisez & circonspects en ce point, que s'il y a quelque Peuple avec qui ils [160] n'ayent pas entierement rompu, ils leur donnent en effet la liberté d'aller & venir dans le Païs ; mais neantmoins pour plus grande assurance on leur assigne des Cabanes particulieres où ils se doivent retirer ; si on les trouuoit ailleurs on leur feroit un mauuais party.

his blood with their own they can never be surprised by the enemy, and have always knowledge of their approach, however secret [159] it may be. They put him in the kettle piece by piece; and although at other feasts the head,—whether of a Bear, or a Dog, or a Deer, or a large fish,—is the Captain's share, in this case the head is given to the lowest person in the company; indeed some taste of this part, or of all the rest of the body, only with great horror. There are some who eat it with pleasure; I have seen Savages in our Cabin speak with gusto of the flesh of an Iroquois, and praise its good qualities in the same terms as they would praise the flesh of a Deer or a Moose. This is certainly very cruel; but we hope, with the assistance of Heaven, that the knowledge of the true God will entirely banish from this Country such barbarity. Moreover, for the security of the Country, they surround the principal Villages with a strong palisade of stakes, in order to sustain a siege. They maintain pensioners in the neutral Nations, and even among their enemies, by means of whom they are secretly warned of all their plots; they are, indeed, so well advised and so circumspect on this point that, if there be some People with whom they [160] have not entirely broken, they give them, in truth, the liberty of going and coming in the Country,—but, nevertheless, for greater assurance, they assign to them special Cabins, to which they must retire; if they found them elsewhere, they would do them grievous harm.

As regards the authority of commanding, here is what I have observed. All the affairs of the Hurons are included under two heads: The first are, as it were, affairs of State,—whatever may concern either citi-

Pour ce qui regarde l'autorité de commander, voicy ce que i'en ay remarqué. Toutes les affaires des Hurons se rapportent à deux chefs: les vnes sont comme les affaires d'Estat, soit qu'elles concernent ou les citoyens, ou les Estrangers, le public ou les particuliers du Village, pour ce qui est des festins, danfes, jeux, croffes, & ordre des funerailles. Les autres sont des affaires de guerre. Or il se trouue autant de fortes de Capitaines que d'affaires. Dans les grâds Villages il y aura quelquefois plusieurs Capitaines tant de la police, que de la guerre, lesquels diuisent entre eux les familles du Village, comme en autant de Capitaineries; on y void mesme par fois des Capitaines, à qui tous ces gouuernemens se rapportent à cause de leur esprit, faueur, richesses, & autres qualitez, qui les rendent considerables dans le Pays. Il n'y en a point, qui en vertu de leur election soient plus grands les vns [161] que les autres. Ceux là tiennent le premier rang, qui se le sont acquis par leur esprit, eloquence, magnificence, courage, & sage conduite, de forte que les affaires du Village s'adressent principalement à celuy des Capitaines, qui a en luy ces qualitez; & de mesme en est-il des affaires de tout le Pays, où les plus grands esprits sont les plus grâds Capitaines, & d'ordinaire il n'y en a qu'un qui porte le faix de tous. C'est en son nom que se passent les Traictez de Paix avec les Peuples estrangers; le Pays mesme porte son nom: & maintenant par exemple, quand on parle d'*Anenkhi-ondic* dans les Conseils des Estrangers, on entend la Nation des Ours. Autrefois il n'y auoit que les braues hommes qui fussent Capitaines, & pour cela on les appelloit *Enondecha*, du mesme nom qu'ils ap-

zens or Strangers, the public or the individuals of the Village; as, for example, feasts, dances, games, crosse matches, and funeral ceremonies. The second are affairs of war. Now there are as many sorts of Captains as of affairs. In the large Villages there will be sometimes several Captains, both of administration and of war, who divide among them the families of the Village as into so many Captaincies. Occasionally, too, there are even Captains to whom these matters of government are referred on account of their intellectual superiority, popularity, wealth, or other qualities which render them influential in the Country. There are none who, by virtue of their election, are of higher rank [161] than others. Those hold the first rank who have acquired it by intellectual preëminence, eloquence, free expenditure, courage, and wise conduct. Consequently, the affairs of the Village are referred principally to that one of the Chiefs who has these qualifications; and the same is true with regard to the affairs of the whole Country, in which the men of greatest ability are the leading Captains, and usually there is one only who bears the burden of all; it is in his name Treaties of Peace are made with foreign Peoples; the Country even bears his name,—and now, for example, when one speaks of *Anenkhiondic* in the Councils of Foreigners, the Nation of the Bear is meant. Formerly only worthy men were Captains, and so they were called *Enondecha*, the same name by which they call the Country, Nation, district,—as if a good Chief and the Country were one and the same thing. But to-day they do not pay so much attention to the selection of their Captains; and so they no longer give them that name, although they still call them *atiwa-*

pellent le Pays, Nation, terre, comme si vn bon Capitaine & le Pays estoient vne mesme chose; mais au iourd'huy ils n'ont pas vn tel égard en l'élection de leurs Capitaines; auffi ne leur donnent-ils plus ce nom là, quoy qu'ils l'appellent encor *atiſarontas*, *atiſanens*, *ondakhienhai*, les grosses pierres, les anciens, les fedentaires. Cependant ceux là ne laissent pas de tenir, comme i'ay dit, le premier rang tant dans [162] les affaires particulieres des Villages, que de tout le Pays, qui font les plus grands en merites & en esprit. Leurs parens font cōme autant de Lieutenans & de Conseillers.

Ils arriuent à ce degré d'honneur, partie par succession, partie par élection, leurs enfans ne leur succedent pas d'ordinaire, mais bien leurs neveux & petits fils. Et ceux cy encor ne viennent pas à la succession de ces petites Royautez, comme les Dauphins en France, ou les enfans en l'heritage de leurs peres; mais en tant qu'ils ont les qualitez conuenables, & qu'ils les acceptent, & font acceptez de tout le Pays. Il s'en trouue qui refusent ces honneurs, tant parce qu'ils n'ont pas le discours en main, ny assez de retenuë ny de patience, que pource qu'ils aiment le repos; car ces charges font pluſtoſt de feruitudes, qu'autre chose. Il faut qu'un Capitaine fasse estat d'estre quasi touiours en campagne: si on tient Conseil à cinq ou six lieuës pour les affaires de tout le Pays, Hyuer ou Esté en quelque faison que ce soit il faut marcher: s'il se fait vne Affemblée dans le Village, c'est en la Cabane du Capitaine: s'il y a quelque chose à publier, c'est à luy à le faire; & puis le peu d'autorité qu'il a d'ordinaire sur ses fuiets, n'est pas [163] vn puiffant attrait pour accepter ceste

rontas, *atiwanens*, *ondakhienhai*, "big stones, the elders, the stay-at-homes." However, those still hold, as I have said, the first rank as well in [162] the special affairs of the Villages as of the whole Country, who are most highly esteemed and intellectually preëminent. Their relatives are like so many Lieutenants and Councilors.

They reach this degree of honor, partly through succession, partly through election; their children do not usually succeed them, but properly their nephews and grandsons. And the latter do not even come to the succession of these petty Royalties, like the Dauphins of France, or children to the inheritance of their fathers; but only in so far as they have suitable qualifications, and accept the position, and are accepted by the whole Country. Some are found who refuse these honors,—sometimes because they have not aptitude in speaking, or sufficient discretion or patience, sometimes because they like a quiet life; for these positions are servitudes more than anything else. A Captain must always make it a point to be, as it were, in the field; if a Council is held five or six leagues away for the affairs of the Country, Winter or Summer, whatever the weather, he must go. If there is an Assembly in the Village, it is in the Captain's Cabin; if there is anything to be made public, he must do it; and then the small authority he usually has over his subjects is not [163] a powerful attraction to make him accept this position. These Captains do not govern their subjects by means of command and absolute power; they have no force at hand to compel them to their duty. Their government is only civil; they represent only what is to be done for the good of the village, or of the whole

charge. Ces Capitaines icy ne gouuernent pas leurs fuiets par voye d'empire, & de puiffance abfoluë; ils n'ont point de force en main, pour les ranger à leur deuoir. Leur gouuernement n'eft que ciuil, ils representent feulement ce qu'il eft question de faire pour le bien du village, ou de tout le Pays. Apres cela fe remuë qui veut. Il y en a neantmoins, qui fçauent bien fe faire obeyr, principalement quand ils ont l'affection de leurs fuiets. Quelques vns font auffi reculez de ces charges, pour la memoire de leurs anceftres qui ont déferuy la Patrie. Que s'ils y font receus, c'eft à force de prefens, que les Anciens acceptent en leur Affemblée, & mettent dans les coffres du Public. Tous les ans enuiron le Printemps fe font ces refurrections de Capitaines, fi quelques cas particuliers ne retardent ou n'aduancent l'affaire. Je demanderois volontiers icy à ceux qui ont peu d'opinion de nos Sauuages, ce qu'il leur femble de cette conduite.

Mais en preuue de ce que ie viens de dire de l'efprit de nos Capitaines, il faut que ie concluë ce Chapitre par vn difcours que me fit ce Printemps vn Capitaine, nommé [164] *Aenons*, il pretendoit nous perfuader de transporter noftre Cabane en fon Village. Surquoy nous auons à lotier Dieu, de ce qu'il nous fait la grace d'eftre ayez & recherchez dans le Pays; c'eft à qui nous aura en fon Village: les *Arcendoronnon* nous en ont fouuent porté la parole, les *Attignenonghac*, & ceux du Village *Oſſoffané*, que nous appellons la Rochelle, nous font encor plus d'inſtance: mais ſi nous auons égard aux importunitéz, affeurément ce Capitaine l'emportera; il y a plus de fix mois qu'il ne nous donne aucun repos, quelque

Country. That settled, he who will takes action. There are, however, some who know well how to secure obedience, especially when they have the affection of their subjects. Some, too, are kept back from these positions by the memory of their ancestors who have badly served their Country. But, if they are received therein, it is by dint of presents which the Old Men accept in their Assembly and put into the Public coffers. Every year, about Spring, these resurrections of Captains take place, if some special cases do not delay or hasten the matter. I should like here to ask those who have a low opinion of our Savages, what they think of this method of conducting affairs.

But, in proof of what I have just said of the intelligence of our Captains, I must conclude this Chapter with a speech, made to me, this Spring, by a Captain named [164] *Aenons*. He was trying to persuade us to transfer our Cabin to his Village. For this we have to praise God, that he gives us the favor to be loved and sought after throughout the Country; there is a strife as to who will have us in his Village. The *Arendoronnon*²² have often invited us; the *Attignenonghac*, and the people of the Village of *Ossossané*, which we call la Rochelle, have pressed us still more earnestly; but, if we have regard to importunities, assuredly this Chief will prevail. For more than six months he has given us no rest; whatever Public affair he may relate to us, he never fails to draw expressly or tacitly this conclusion; but this Spring, more than ever, he has employed all his Rhetoric to secure our promise, and gain our full consent. Going then one day to *Wenrio*, to visit one of our Christians sick unto death, I

affaire du Païs qu'il nous raconte, il ne manque point d'en tirer expreffément ou tacitement cette conclusion; mais fur tout à ce Printemps il a employé toute la Rhétorique pour nous faire dire le mot, & obtenir tout à fait nostre consentement. Allant donc vn iour à *Senrio*, pour affifter vn de nos Chrestiens malade à la mort, ie trouuay par le chemin vn Sauuage qui me venoit querir de la part d'*Aenons*; ie l'allay voir apres auoir fatisfait à nostre malade, qui nous menoit particulièrement. Il me fit ce discours: mais ie luy feray tort de le mettre icy, car ie ne luy donneray pas la grace qu'il auoit en la bouche [165] de ce Capitaine; n'importe, on verra tousiours ses pensées, que i'ay rangées à mon aduis à peu près dans leur ordre. Voicy comme il commença.

Echon, ie vous ay mandé pour sçauoir au vray vostre derniere resolution: ie ne vous eusse pas donné la peine de venir iusques icy, n'eust esté que ie craignois de ne pas trouuer chez vous la commodité de vous parler: vostre Cabane est tousiours pleine de tant de personnes qui vous visitent, qu'il est quasi impossible de vous y communiquer quelque chose en particulier: & puis maintenant que nous sommes sur le point de nous affembler pour delibérer touchant l'establissement d'un nouveau Village, cette entreueuë eust peü estre suspecte à ceux qui desirent vous retenir.

Les François ont tousiours esté attachez à moy, & m'ont aymé, ie les ay aussi tousiours assisté en tout ce que i'ay peu, & n'ont pas trouué en toutes ces terres de meilleur amy que moy: ce n'a pas esté fans encourir l'enuie de tout le Païs, qui m'en regarde il y a long temps de mauvais œil, & a fait tout ce qu'il

met by the way a Savage who was coming with a message for me from *Aenons*. I went to see the latter after having attended to our sick man, and he took me to one side. He made to me this speech, but I shall do him wrong to put it here, for I shall not give it the grace it had in the mouth [165] of this Chief; no matter, the reader will see his ideas, which I have set down, as I think, almost in their order. See how he began.

“*Echon*, I have sent for you to learn your final decision. I would not have given you the trouble to come here, had I not been afraid that I should not find at your house the opportunity of speaking to you. Your Cabin is always full of so many people visiting you, that it is almost impossible to say anything to you in private; and then, now that we are on the point of assembling to deliberate regarding the establishment of a new Village, this interview might have aroused the suspicions of those who wish to keep you.

“The French have always been attached to me, and have loved me; I have always assisted them in every way I could, and they have not found in all this land a better friend than I. This has not been without incurring the envy of others throughout the Country, who have therefore for a long time regarded me with an evil eye, and have done all they could to prejudice you against me. They have even, as you [166] know, imputed to me the death of *Bruslé*; and immediately after he was killed, when the question of going down to *Kébec* was discussed, it was said loudly and distinctly that, if I went, I would without doubt lose my head. Notwithstanding all that, the following year (for that year I went elsewhere to

a peu pour me mettre mal aupres de vous; iufques là que, comme vous [166] fçauez, on m'a imputé la mort de Brulé, & incontinent apres qu'il eut esté tué, quand il fut queftion de defcendre à Kébec, on difoit haut & clair que fi i'y allois, fans doute i'y laifferois la teſte: nonobſtant tout cela l'année fuiuante (car pour cette année là i'allay en traite ailleurs) ie ne laiffay pas de m'embarquer, & defcendre, appuyé que i'eſtois fur mon innocence. Au reſte fi ce malheur me fuſt arriué, la hache eſtant leuée fur ma teſte, i'euffe demandé vn peu de temps pour parler, & ie croy que ie me fuſſe fi bien iuſtifé, que i'euffe obligé celuy qui commandoit ou de faire manifeſtement vne iniuſtice, ou me laiffer la vie. Mais ie n'en fus pas en la peine, & ceux qui s'attendoient de me voir affommer furent bien eſtonnez, quand ils virent l'honneur qu'on me fit; iufques là que quelques vns diſoient, que puis qu'on traitoit fi fauorablement vn meurtrier, le vray moyen de ſe faire aimer des François eſtoit de fendre la teſte à quelqu'un. Tous ces diſcours n'ont point empeſché que mon innocence n'ait esté touſiours au deſſus de l'enuie: quoy qu'on diſe, i'aimeray & obligeray toute ma vie les François en tout ce que ie pourray.

Echon, nous penſions que voſtre Village [167] deuſt nous fuiure, & ſe ioindre à nous, maintenât que nous ſõmes fur le poinct d'en faire vn autre ailleurs, & il n'a pas tenu à vous, les preſens que vous fiſtes l'an paſſé fur ce ſuiet n'eſtoient que trop capables de les porter à cette reſolution; mais cependant, à ce que nous voyons, il n'en faut plus parler; c'eſt vne piece tout à fait détachée, & nagueres que i'allay chez vous pour ſçauoir voſtre reſolution, ie perdis courage, vous

trade) I was not hindered from embarking and going down, supported as I was by my innocence. Moreover, if that misfortune had happened and the axe been raised over my head, I should have asked a little time to speak; and I believe I should have so fully cleared myself that I would have compelled him who ordered it either to do a manifest injustice, or to leave me my life. But I had no trouble about it, and those who expected to see me struck down were very much astonished when they saw the honor that was done me; so astonished were they, that some said, since a murderer was so favorably dealt with, the true way to get oneself liked by the French was to cleave some one's head open. All these speeches have not prevented my innocence from always being above suspicion; whatever may be said, I shall, all my life, love and serve the French, in every way I can.

“*Echon*, we thought that your Village [167] ought to follow ours, and join itself to ours, now that we are on the point of establishing another one elsewhere, and it is not your fault, since the presents you made on this account, last year, were only too well calculated to bring them to this resolution. Nevertheless, as far as we can see, it is not necessary to say anything more regarding this,—it is a matter quite aside; and lately when I was going to your house to learn your decision, I lost courage; you answered me so coldly that I had almost resolved not to speak to you any more about it.

“Yet the thing is of such importance, as well for your interests as for ours, that I have judged it fitting to speak my feelings about it once more. If you do not answer me clearly to-day, I shall never

me répondistes si froidement, que ie m'estois comme resolu de ne vous en plus parler.

Toutefois la chose est de telle importance, tant pour vos interêts que pour les nostres, que i'ay iugé à propos de vous en dire mon sentiment encore vne fois: si vous ne me respondes aujourd'huy distinctement, iamais plus ie ne vous en ouuriray la bouche. Nous nous assemblerons demain cinq Villages que nous sommes pour conclure le dessein que nous auons de nous vnir, & n'en faire qu'un. Nous auons fuiet de prendre cette resolution, puis que si nous sommes en paix cette année, nous ne pouons manquer le Printemps suiuant d'auoir l'ennemy sur les bras: nous n'en sommes que trop bien informez; en l'estat que [168] vous nous voyez maintenant nous serions en peine, au moins pour nos femmes, & nos enfans, si la neccessité nous contraignoit de prendre les armes: au lieu que si nous sommes en un bon Village bien fermé de pieux, nostre ieunesse aura fuiet de faire paroistre son courage, & nous mettrons nos femmes & nos enfans en assurance. A cette occasion tout le Païs iette les yeux sur vous; nous nous estimerons tout à fait hors de crainte, pourueu que nous vous ayons avec nous; vous auez des armes à feu dont le seul bruit est capable de donner l'épouuante à l'ennemy, & le mettre en fuite.

Au reste, il y va aussi de vos interêts; voyez en quelle peine vous estes au moindre bruit de guerre: & puis si on vous fait quelque tort, à qui aurez vous recours demeurans en ce petit Hameau où vous estes? Vous n'avez point là de Capitaine qui vous prenne en sa protection, & vous fasse faire raison; il n'y a personne qui tienne la ieunesse en deuoir: si les bleds vous manquent, qui donnera ordre qu'on vous en pour-

more open my lips to you about it. Five of our Villages meet to-morrow, to settle the plan we have of uniting and making only one of them. We have reason to take this resolution, since, if we are at peace this year, we are certain next Spring to have the enemy on our hands. We are only too well informed about them; in the position in which [168] we are now, we should be in trouble, at least for our wives and our children, if necessity should compel us to take arms; whereas if we are in one good Village, well protected by stakes, our youth will have occasion to show their courage, and we will place our wives and children in safety. On this account the whole Country turns its eyes upon you; we shall esteem ourselves quite beyond fear, if we have you with us; you have firearms, the mere report of which is capable of inspiring dread in the enemy, and putting him to flight.

“ Moreover, these are also your own interests; see in what trouble you are at the least report of war; and then, if any harm is done to you, to whom will you have recourse, living in that petty Hamlet where you are? You have no Captain there who will take you under his protection, and cause right to be done you; there is no one to keep the young men within bounds; if corn is lacking to you, who will give orders to provide you with it? for your Village is not capable of furnishing you with a sufficiency of it, and how much trouble it would be to go yourselves in search of it [169] elsewhere. On the other hand, if you were with us, you would lack for nothing; as we shall have asked you to come with us, so we shall be obliged to support you; and, in case they should be lax in furnishing you your provisions, I give you my

uoye, car vostre Village n'est pas capable de vous en fournir à suffisance, & quelle peine d'en aller vous mesmes chercher [169] ailleurs. Au lieu que si vous estes des nostres, rien ne vous scauroit manquer; cōme nous vous aurons voulu auoir aupres de nous, àussi ferons nous obliger de vous nourrir: & au cas que l'on se portast laschement à vous fournir vostre prouision, ie vous donne parole que i'employeray tout mon credit pour representer à nos gens l'obligation qu'ils vous auront, & ie sçay bien qu'il n'y en a pas vn qui ne se mette incontinent en deuoir de vous seruir: de mesme quand il fera question de dresser vostre Cabane, ie commanderay à toute la ieunesse de mettre la main à l'œuvre, & vous vous verrez incontinent àussi bien logez que vous pouuez souhaitter dans le Païs.

Il s'arresta icy, & il me dit qu'il n'auoit pas neantmoins encor acheué, mais qu'il desiroit auant que de passer outre, que ie communiquasse à vn de nos Peres qui estoit avec moy ce qu'il venoit de dire. Puis il continua en ces termes:

Echon, ie vois bien que vous m'allez dire que vous craignez d'estre plus éloignez du Lac que vous n'estes maintenant; & moy ie vous donne parole que vous n'en ferez pas si éloignez que vous pourriez bien penser; [170] & puis quand ainsi feroit, dequoy vous mettez vous en peine? Vous n'allez point à la pefche, tout le Village y ira pour vous: Vous aurez de la peine à embarquer vos paquets pour Kébec; rien moins, il n'y aura personne dans le Village qui ne se tienne heureux de vous seruir en cette occasion. Il est vray que vous ne ferez pas au bord du Lac pour recevoir les paquets qu'on vous enuoyera; mais qu'importe, puis qu'on vous les apportera iufques chez

word that I will use all my influence in representing to our people the obligations they are under to you, and I know well there is not one of them who will not put himself immediately to work to serve you; in the same way, when the question arises of erecting your Cabin, I shall command all the young men to put their hands to the work, and you will see yourself immediately as well lodged as you can wish in this Country."

He stopped at this point, and told me that he had not yet finished; but he desired that, before proceeding further, I should communicate to one of our Fathers who was with me what he had just said. Then he continued in these words:

"*Echon*, I see well that you were going to say to me that you fear to be further distant from the Lake than you are now; but I give you my word that you will not be as far from it as you might think; [170] and then, even if it were so, how could it inconvenience you? You do not go fishing; the whole Village will go for you. You will have difficulty in embarking your parcels for Kébec? Not at all; there will be nobody in the Village who will not consider himself happy to serve you in this matter. It is true, you will not be on the shore of the Lake to receive the parcels sent to you; but what does it matter, since they will be brought all the way to your house? And in case you desire to employ the people of la Rochelle, if they love you, as they must usually pass before the Village we intend to build, they will not give you the trouble to go and seek for them in their Village. *Echon*, this is what I had to say to you; I beg that I may learn now your final decision, in order that I may report it to the Council to-morrow."

vous: & au cas que vous desiriez vous feruir de ceux de la Rochelle, s'ils vous aiment, comme ils doiuent ordinairement passer deuant le Village que nous pretendons bastir, ils ne vous donneront pas la peine de les aller querir à leur Village. *Echon*, voila ce que i'auois à vous dire: ie vous prie que ie sçache maintenant vostre derniere resolution, afin que i'en fasse demain le rapport au Conseil.

Voila la harangue de ce Capitaine, qui passeroit, à mon aduis au iugement de plusieurs pour vne de celles de Tite Liue, si le fuiet le portoit: elle me sembla fort persuasive. En effet ie luy fis response, qu'il nous obligeoit de l'affection qu'il tesmoignoît pour nous, qu'il l'auoit assez faict paroistre [171] en plusieurs occasions; mais sur tout en celle cy: que nous estions tres-contens de transporter nostre Cabane en son Village; qu'il y auoit long temps que nous en auions le dessein; que nous ne nous estions arrestez à *Ihonatiria*, que comme en vn Village qui releuoit de luy, & qui ne faisoit bande à part que pour vn temps: mais neantmoins que nous ne pouuions pas encor nous refoudre à engager nostre parole, que les Capitaines des cinq Villages qui se deuoient assembler ne nous promissent premierement au nom de tous leurs fuiets, qu'ils feroient contens de receuoir la Foy, croire tout ce que nous croyons, & viure comme nous. Je pris de là occasion de luy repeter quelques principaux mysteres de nostre Foy, & taschay sur tout de luy monstrier quelle facilité ils deuoient auoir en ce point, puis que Dieu ne nous commandoit rien qui ne fust tres-raisonnable, & qu'ils ne iugeassent eux mesmes par apres tres-aduantageux pour le Païs. Il m'écouta fort attentiuement, & me promit d'en faire fidelement son rapport au Conseil, adioutant que pour

That is the harangue of this Captain; and, in my opinion, it would, if the subject moved him, pass in the judgment of many for one of those of Titus Livius; it seemed to me very persuasive. In effect, I replied that he laid us under obligations by the affection he showed for us, which he had made apparent [171] on several occasions, but above all on this one; that we were perfectly satisfied with the idea of transporting our Cabin to his Village; that we had intended doing this for a long time, and had only stayed at *Ihonatiria* as in a Village which was depending on him, and was keeping apart only for a time; but, nevertheless, we could not yet resolve to pledge our word unless the Captains of the five Villages which were to meet would promise us, in the first place, in the name of all their subjects, that they would be content to receive the Faith, to believe all that we believe, and to live as we do. I then took occasion to repeat to him a few of the principal mysteries of our Faith, and tried especially to show him how easy it ought to be for them on this point, since God commanded us to do nothing which was not most reasonable, and which they themselves would not afterwards consider very advantageous for the Country. He listened to me very attentively, and promised to make a faithful report of our talk to the Council,—adding that, so far as he was concerned, he was of a mind to be baptized, and that all in his Cabin were similarly inclined.

[172] The Council took place some days after; this Captain was there. He was asked what was the final sentiment and decision of the French. He replied that we made some objection. They asked him what it was. “They do not wish,” he said, “to go to a

luy il estoit dans la resolution de se faire baptiser, & que toute sa Cabane avoit la mesme pensée.

[172] Le Conseil se tint quelques iours apres; ce Capitaine s'y trouva. On luy demanda quel estoit enfin le sentiment & la resolution des François. Il leur répondit, que nous faisons quelque difficulté. Ils luy demanderent, quelle difficulté nous pouvions faire. Ils ne veulent point, dit-il, se mettre dans un Village, qu'ils ne soient affeurez d'avoir affaire à des personnes, qui écouteront, & feront tout ce qu'ils enseignent. A cela ils repartirent. Voila qui va bien: Nous en sommes contents, il nous enseignera puis nous ferons tout ce qu'il désirera. En effect ils creurent l'affaire si bien conclüe, qu'ils nous vindrent dire par apres qu'ils venoient querir nostre Cabane pour la transporter: mais ce ne fera pas encor pour cette année, la feste des Morts a trauersé, dit-on, ce dessein. Cependant ce Capitaine qui est si échauffé à nous avoir avec luy en ce nouveau Village, voyant que nostre Cabane estoit quasi inhabitable, & qu'il sembloit que nostre Village se voulust dissiper: & craignant que nous ne prissions party ailleurs, nous vint offrir sa Cabane, à peine de s'incommoder, luy, & toute sa famille. Neantmoins nous auons iugé plus à propos de passer encor un [173] Hyuer où nous sommes, tant pour cultiuer ces nouvelles plantes que nous y auons acquises à nostre Seigneur, par le moyen du saint Baptême; que parce que nous espérons que les Chefs de ces Villages qui pretendent de s'affsembler, & sont maintenant en diuision avec le reste du Pays, pourront entre cy & le Printemps se réunir, & ainsi nous pourrons plus aisément tourner du costé que nous iugerons plus à propos pour la gloire de Dieu, sans craindre d'offenser personne. Ce qui

Village where they will not be certain of having to do with persons who will listen to them, and will do all they teach." To that they replied, "That is well, we are satisfied. He will teach us, and we will do all he desires." In short, they believed the matter so fully concluded that they came to tell us afterward that they were coming for our Cabin to transport it there. But this will not occur this year; the feast of the Dead, they say, has come in the way of this arrangement. In the meantime, this Chief who is so anxious to have us with him in this new Village, seeing that our Cabin was almost uninhabitable, and that our Village seemed about to be scattered, and fearing lest we should go elsewhere, came to offer us his Cabin at the risk of inconveniencing himself and his whole family. Nevertheless, we have judged it best to pass one more [173] Winter where we are,—as much to cultivate these new plants we have won for our Lord by means of holy Baptism, as because we hope the Captains of those Villages who intend to come together, and are now at variance with the rest of the Country, will be able between now and Spring to reunite, and thus we can more readily take such action as we shall judge most proper for the glory of God, without fear of offending any one, which would be very difficult in the present condition of affairs.

This resolution taken, we were obliged to think of repairing and enlarging our Cabin. I broached the matter to the Captain of our Village. He immediately assembled the Old Men, and communicated to them our plan. They were so pleased that they came to us to present their congratulations, for they were

nous feroit maintenant bien difficile en l'estat où sont les affaires.

Cette resolution prise nous a obligé de penser à reftablir & accroître nostre Cabane: i'en fis ouverture au Capitaine de nostre Village; il assembla incontinent les Anciens, & leur communiqua nostre dessein, ils en furent si contens, qu'ils nous en vinrent faire des conioiffances; car ils craignoient de iour en iour que nous ne les quitaffions.

Pour les encourager ie leur fis present d'une douzaine de pains de Petun, & quelques peaux; ils me rendirent les peaux, difant que c'estoit à eux à nous en donner; & que d'ailleurs ils nous auoient déjà assez [174] d'obligation, que nous les obligions tous les iours à une infinité d'occasions; que si quelques-uns auoient besoin d'un couteau, ou d'une alafne, ils n'auoient qu'à venir chez nous, & que nous les leurs donnions incontinent. Au reste ces témoignages de bien-veillance ne furent pas seulement des paroles, ils furent suivis de bons effets; ils mirent diligemment la main à l'œuvre, & trauaillerent avec tant d'affiduité, qu'ils nous dresserent presque en trois iours une nouvelle Cabane; aussi personne ne s'y épargna, les vieillards y estoient les premiers. Quelques-uns mesmes s'oubliaient de leur âge montoient iusques au haut de la Cabane, les autres alloient querir & preparoient force écorces pour lier, ou trauailloient à dresser le bas de la Cabane.

La diligence du Capitaine empêcha le dernier iour quatre d'entre nous de dire Messe; car dès le point du iour il se mit en befogne, & du haut de la Cabane où il estoit crioit à pleine teste, & inuitoit au trauail toute la ieunesse qui n'estoit pas encor bien éueillée. Mais difons un mot de leurs Conseils.

afraid from day to day that we were going to leave them.

To encourage them, I made them a present of a dozen cakes of Tobacco, and some skins. They gave me back the skins, saying that it was their duty to give some to us, and that, besides, they were already under sufficient [174] obligation to us,—that we helped them every day, in an infinite variety of ways; that if any had need of a knife, or an awl, they had only to come to us, and we gave them to them at once. Moreover, these pledges of good will were not mere words, they were followed by good results. They set to work so diligently and worked with so much zeal that they erected a new Cabin for us in less than three days. Indeed, no one spared himself; the old people were foremost in the work. Some, forgetting their age, even climbed to the top of the Cabin; others went to seek and prepare plenty of bark to cover it, or worked at setting up the frame thereof.

The zeal of the Captain prevented four of us from saying Mass on the last day; for, as soon as it was daylight, he set himself at work; and from the top ridge of the Cabin, where he was, he shouted as loudly as he could, and invited all the youth who were not already awake to come and get to work. But let us say a word about their Councils.

[175] CHAPITRE VII.

DE L'ORDRE QUE LES HURONS TIENNENT EN LEURS
CONSEILS.

IE parleray icy principalement des Confeils ou Affemblees generales, les particuliers estant quasi ordonnez de mesme façon, quoy qu'avec moins d'appareil.

Ces Affemblées generales sont comme les Estats de tout le Païs, & partant il s'en fait autant, & non plus que la necessité le requiert. Le lieu d'iceux est d'ordinaire le Village du principal Capitaine de tout le Païs: la Chambre de Conseil est quelque fois la Cabane du Capitaine, parée de nattes, ou ionchées de branches de Sapin, avec diuers feux, fuiuant la saison de l'année. Autrefois chacun y apportoit sa busche pour mettre au feu; maintenant cela ne se pratique plus, les femmes de la Cabane supportent cette dépense, elles font les feux, & ne s'y chauffent pas, sortant dehors pour ceder la place à Messieurs le Cōseillers. Quelquefois l'affemblée se fait au milieu du Village, si c'est en Esté, & [176] quelquefois aussi en l'obscurité des forests à l'écart, quand les affaires demandent le secret: le temps est plustost de nuit que de iour, ils y passent souuent les nuits entieres.

Le Chef du Conseil est le Capitaine qui l'affemble. Les affaires s'y decident à la pluralité des voix, où l'autorité des Chefs en attire plusieurs à leur opinion: de fait la commune façon d'opiner est de dire

[175] CHAPTER VII.

OF THE ORDER THE HURONS OBSERVE IN THEIR
COUNCILS.

I SHALL speak here of the general Councils or Assemblies, the special ones being ordered in almost the same way, although with less display.

These general Assemblies are, as it were, the States-General of the Country, and consequently they take place only so often as necessity requires. The place of these is usually the Village of the principal Captain of the whole Country. The Council Chamber is sometimes the Cabin of this Captain, adorned with mats, or strewn with Fir branches, with several fires, according to the season of the year. Formerly, each one brought his fagot to put on the fire; this is now no longer the custom, the women of the Cabin take this responsibility; they make the fires, but do not warm themselves thereat, going outside to give place to Messieurs the Councilors. Sometimes the assembly takes place in the midst of the Village, if it is Summer; and [176] sometimes also in the obscurity of the forest, apart, when affairs demand secrecy. The time is oftener night than day, whole nights often being passed in council.

The Head of the Council is the Captain who calls it. Matters are decided by a plurality of votes, in which the authority of the Captains draws over many to their views; in fact, the usual way of coming to a decision is to say to the Old Men, *Do you give advice; you are the Masters.*

aux Anciens. *Aduifez y vous autres, vous estes les Maiftres.*

Les gages ordinaires de ces Meffieurs font assignez fur la force de leurs bras, fur leur diligence & bon ménage: s'ils effartent mieux que les autres, s'ils chaffent mieux, s'ils pefchent mieux; bref s'ils font heureux à la traite, ils font auffi plus riches qu'eux; finon ils font les plus neceffiteux, ainfi comme l'experience le fait voir en quelques-vns.

Leurs parties cafuelles font premierement les meilleurs morceaux des festins, où on ne manque point de les inuiter. 2. Quand quelqu'un fait quelque present ils y ont la meilleure part. 3. Quand quelqu'un soit Citoyen, soit Estranger, veut obtenir quelque chose du Païs, la coustume [177] est de graiffer les mains des principaux Capitaines, au branle defquels tout le reste se remuë. Je fuis tres affeuré de ce que ie viens de dire, le regret que quelques particuliers ont de semblables defordres, & l'enuie mesme des autres Capitaines, qui ne font pas appelez au butin, en décourrèt plus qu'on ne desireroit; ils se décrient les vns les autres, & le seul soupçon de ces presents secrets émeut quelquefois de grands debats & diuifions, non pas tant pour le desir du bien public, que pour le regret de n'estre pas de la partie; & cette ialousie empesche par fois de bonnes affaires. Mais venons à l'ordre qu'ils tiennent en leurs Conseils.

Premierement le Chef ayant déjà consulté en particulier avec les autres Capitaines & Anciens de son Village, & iugé que l'affaire merite vne assemblée publique, il enuoye conuier au Conseil par chaque Village autant de personnes qu'il desire; les Messagers font ieunes hommes volontaires, ou aucunesfois

The usual wages of these Gentlemen are assigned according to the strength of their arms, to their zeal and good management. If they clear the ground better than the others, hunt better, fish better,—in short, if they are successful in trading, they are also richer than the others; but if not, they are the most necessitous, as experience has shown in the cases of some.

The incidental advantages are, in the first place, the best portions of the feasts, to which they are sure to be invited. 2. When any one makes a present, they get the best part of it. 3. When some one, be he Citizen or Stranger, wishes to obtain something from the Country, the custom [177] is to grease the palms of the principal Captains, at whose beck and call all the rest move. I am quite sure of what I have just said. The regret that some private individuals have for such irregularities, and the envy of the other Captains who have not been called upon to share the booty, discourage the practice more than they like; they decry one another, and the mere suspicion of these secret presents stirs up sometimes great debates and divisions,—not so much through desire of the public good as from regret at not having a share in them; and this jealousy sometimes hinders good measures. But let us come to the order they keep in their Councils.

In the first place, the Captain, having already consulted in private with the other Captains and Old Men of his Village, and having concluded that the affair warrants a public assembly, sends invitations to the Council, to as many persons of each Village as he desires. The Messengers are young men who volunteer or sometimes an Old Man, in order that

vn Ancien, afin que la femonce soit plus efficace, d'autant qu'on n'adiouste pas tousiours foy aux ieunes gens. Ces Messagers adressent leur commission au principal Capitaine [178] du Village, ou bien en son absence à celui qui le suit de plus près en autorité, designant le iour auquel on se doit assembler. Ces femonces sont des prieres, non pas des commandemens, & partant quelques-vns s'excusent tout à fait, d'autres dilayent à partir; d'où vient que ces assemblées sont quelquefois longues, car ils ne se mettent pas volontiers en chemin avec le mauuais temps, & certainement ils ont encor assez de peine de venir à beau pied par fois de dix & douze lieuës, & ce en Hyuer & sur les neiges.

Tous estans arriuez, ils prennent seance chacun en son quartier de la Cabane; ceux d'un mesme Village ou mesme Nation proche l'un de l'autre, afin de consulter par ensemble: si d'auenture quelqu'un mâque, on met en question, si nonobstant son absence cette assemblée feroit legitime, & quelquefois faute d'une ou de deux personnes toute l'assemblée se dissout, & se remet à une autre fois. Que si tous sont assemblez, ou que nonobstant ils iugent deuoir passer outre, alors on donne ouuerture au Conseil. Ce ne sont pas tousiours les Chefs du Conseil qui la font, la difficulté de parler, leur indisposition, [179] ou mesme leur grauité les en dispense.

Après les salutations, les remerciemens de la peine qu'ils ont prise à venir, les actions de graces rendues ie ne sçay à qui, de ce que tout le monde est arriué sans fortune, que personne n'a esté surpris des ennemis, n'est point tombé en quelque ruisseau ou Riuiera, ou ne s'est point blessé; bref de ce que tous sont arri-

the summons may be more efficacious, inasmuch as they do not always put faith in young people. These Messengers address their errand to the principal Captain [178] of the Village, or, in his absence, to the one who is nearest him in authority, stating the day on which they are to assemble. These summons are entreaties, not commands, and accordingly some excuse themselves entirely, others delay setting out; whence it happens that these assemblies are sometimes tedious, for they do not like to set out in bad weather, and certainly they have enough difficulty in sometimes coming ten or twelve leagues on foot, and this in Winter and over the snow.

All having arrived, they take their seats each in his own quarter of the Cabin, those of the same Village or of the same Nation near one another, in order to consult together. If by chance some one is absent, the question is raised whether, notwithstanding this, the assembly would be legitimate; and sometimes, from the absence of one or two persons, the whole gathering is dissolved, and adjourns until another time. But if all are gathered, or if, notwithstanding, they think it their duty to go on, the Council is opened. It is not always the Leaders of the Council who do this; difficulty in speaking, unwillingness, [179] or even their dignity dispenses them from it.

After salutations, thanks for the trouble taken in coming, thanksgivings rendered, I know not to whom, that every one has arrived without accident, that no one has been surprised by enemies, nor has fallen into any stream or River, nor has been injured,—in brief, that every one has arrived happily, all are exhorted to deliberate maturely. Then the affair to be

uez heureusement; on exhorte tout le monde à deliberer meurement: en apres on propose l'affaire dont il est question, & dit on à Messieurs les Conseillers qu'ils y aduifent.

C'est alors que les Deputez de chaque Village, ou ceux d'une mesme Nation consultent tout bas ce qu'ils doiuent respondre. Lors qu'ils ont bien consulté par ensemble ils opinent par ordre, & s'arrestent à la pluralité des opinions, où plusieurs choses sont dignes de remarque. La premiere est en la maniere de parler, laquelle à cause de la diuersité a vn nom different, & s'appelle *ac8entonch*; elle est commune à tous les Sauvages; ils haussent & flechissent la voix comme d'un ton de Predicateur à l'antique, mais lentement, posément, distinctement, mesmes [180] repetant une mesme raison plusieurs fois. La seconde chose remarquable est, que les opinans reprennent sommairement la proposition, & toutes les raisons qu'on a alleguées auant que dire leur aduis.

L'ay autrefois ouy dire à quelque Truchement, que ces Nations icy auoient vn langage particulier en leurs Conseils; mais i'ay expérimenté le contraire: ie sçay bien qu'ils ont quelques termes particuliers, ainsi qu'on a en toutes fortes d'arts, & de sciences, comme au Palais, aux Ecoles, & ailleurs. Il est vray que leurs discours sont d'abord difficiles à entendre, à cause d'une infinité de Metaphores, de plusieurs circonlocutions, & autres façons figurées: par exemple parlant de la Nation des Ours, ils diront, l'Ours a dit, a fait cela; l'Ours est fin, est meschant; les mains de l'Ours sont dangereuses: quand ils parlent de celui qui fait le festin des Morts, ils disent, celui qui mange les ames: quand ils parlent d'une

discussed is brought forward, and Messieurs the Councilors are asked to give their advice.

At this point the Deputies of each Village, or those of one Nation, consult in a low tone as to what they will reply. Then, when they have consulted well together, they give their opinions in order, and decide according to the plurality of opinions, in which course there are some things worthy of remark. The first is in the manner of speaking, which, on account of its unlikeness [to common speech], has a different name and is called *acwentouch*; it is common to all Savages; they raise and quaver the voice, like the tones of a Preacher in olden times, but slowly, decidedly, distinctly, even [180] repeating the same reason several times. The second remarkable thing is, that the persons giving their opinions go summarily over the proposition and all the considerations brought forward, before giving their advice.

I once heard it said by some Interpreter, that these Nations had a private language in their Councils; but I have learned by experience that this is not so. I know well that they have some private terms, as there are in all kinds of arts and sciences, as in the Palace, the Schools and elsewhere. It is true that their speeches are at first very difficult to understand, on account of an infinity of Metaphors, of various circumlocutions, and other rhetorical methods: for example, speaking of the Nation of the Bear they will say, "the Bear has said, has done so and so; the Bear is cunning, is bad; the hands of the Bear are dangerous." When they speak of him who conducts the feast of the Dead, they say "he who eats souls;" when they speak of a Nation, they often name only the principal Captain,—thus, speaking of the

Nation, ils n'en nomment fouvent que le principal Capitaine: comme parlant des Montagnets, ils diront, *Atsirond* dit: c'est le nom d'un des Capitaines. Bref, c'est en ces lieux où ils releuēt leur stile, & tafchēt [181] de bien dire. Quasi tous ces esprits sont naturellement d'une assez bonne trempe, ratiocinent fort bien, & ne bronchent point en leurs discours; aussi sont-ils estat de se moquer de ceux qui bronchent: quelques uns semblent estre nés à l'éloquence.

3. Après que quelqu'un a opiné, le Chef du Conseil repete, ou fait repeter ce qu'il a dit: de forte que les choses ne peuvent qu'elles ne soient bien entendues estans tant de fois rebatuës. Ce qui m'arriua fort heureusement au Conseil dont ie vous ay parlé, où ie leur fis un present pour les encourager à prendre le chemin & la route du Ciel; car un des Capitaines repeta fort heureusement tout ce que j'auois dit, & le dilata, & amplifia mieux que ie n'auois fait, & en meilleurs termes; car en effet dans le peu de cognoissance que nous auons de cette Langue, nous ne difons pas ce que nous voulons, mais ce que nous pouuons.

4. Chacū cōclud son aduis en ces termes, *Con-dayaucndi Icrhayde cha nonh8ic8ahachen*; c'est à dire, Voilà ma pēsee touchāt le fuiet de nostre Conseil: puis toute l'Assemblée répond par une forte respiratiō tirée [182] du creux de l'estomach, *Haau*. J'ay remarqué que quand quelqu'un a parlé au gré, ce *Haau* se tire avec beaucoup plus d'effort.

La cinquième chose remarquable est leur grande prudence & moderation de paroles: ie n'oserois pas dire qu'ils vsent tousiours de cette retenuë, car ie sçay que quelquefois il se picquent; mais cependant vous

Montagnets, they will say, "*Atsirond* says:" this is the name of one of their Captains. In short, it is in these places they dignify their style of language, and try [181] to speak well. Almost all their minds are naturally of very good quality; they reason very clearly, and do not stumble in their speeches; and so they make a point of mocking those who trip; some seem to be born orators.

3. After some one has given his opinion the Head of the Council repeats, or causes to be repeated, what he has said; consequently, matters must be clearly understood, so often are they repeated. This was very fortunate for me, at the Council of which I have spoken to you, where I made them a present to encourage them to take the road to Heaven; for one of the Captains felicitously repeated all that I had said, and dilated upon it and amplified it better than I had done, and in better terms; for, in truth, owing to our limited knowledge of the Language, we say not what we wish, but what we can.

4. Each one ends his advice in these terms, *Con-dayauendi Ierhayde cha nonhwiwahachen*: that is to say, "That is my thought on the subject under Discussion:" then the whole Assembly responds with a very strong respiration drawn [182] from the pit of the stomach, *Haau*. I have noticed that when any one has spoken to their liking, this *Haau* is given forth with much more effort.

The fifth remarkable thing is their great prudence and moderation of speech; I would not dare to say they always use this self-restraint, for I know that sometimes they sting each other, — but yet you always remark a singular gentleness and discretion. I have scarcely ever been present at their Councils; but,

remarquez toufiours vne finguliere douceur & difcretion. Je n'ay gueres affisté en leurs Confeils, mais toutes les fois qu'ils m'y ont inuité i'en fuis forty avec eftonnement fur ce poinct.

Vn iour ie vis vn debat pour la prefeance entre deux Capitaines de guerre: vn Vieillard qui espou-
foit le party de l'vn, dit qu'il estoit fur le bord de fa fosse, & que parauenture le lendemain fon corps feroit placé dans le Cimetiere; mais cependant qu'il diroit ingenuëment ce qu'il croyoit estre de iustice, non pour aucun interest qu'il y eust, mais pour l'amour de la verité: ce qu'il fit avec ardeur, quoy qu'affaifonnée de difcretion. Et lors vn autre Ancien reprenant la parole le reprit, & luy dit fort à propos: Ne parle point maintenant de ces choses, ce n'en est pas [183] la faison; voila l'ennemy qui nous va affieger, il est question de nous armer, & de fortifier vnanimement nos pallissades, & non pas de disputer des rangs. Sur tout ie fus estonné de la sage conduite d'un autre Conseil, où i'affistay, qui sembloit estre confit en humeur condescendante & belles paroles, nonobstant l'importance des affaires dont il s'agissoit.

Ce Conseil estoit l'un des plus importans que les Hurons ayent: sçauoir de leur feste des Morts: ils n'ont rien de plus sacré: la chose estoit fort chatoüilleuse; car il s'agissoit de faire que tout le Païs mit ses morts en vne mesme fosse, fuiuant leur coustume: & cependant il y auoit quelques Villages mutinez qui vouloient faire bande à part, non fans vn regret de tout le Païs. Cependant la chose se passa avec toute la douceur & paix imaginable: à tous coups les Maistres de la Feste qui auoient assemblé le Conseil exhortoient à la douceur, disant que c'estoit vn Con-

every time I have been invited, I have come out from them astonished at this feature.

One day I saw a debate for precedence between two war Captains: An Old Man who espoused the side of one, said that he was on the edge of the grave, and that perhaps on the morrow his body would be placed in the Cemetery; but yet he would say frankly what he believed to be justice, not for any interest he had in the matter, but from love of truth: which he did with ardor, though seasoned with discretion. Then another Old Man, beginning to speak, replied to him and said, very properly: "Do not speak now of those things, this is no [183] time for them; see the enemy, who is going to attack us; the question is one of arming ourselves and fortifying with one mind our palisades, and not of disputing about rank." I was particularly astonished at the wise conduct of another Council, at which I was present, which seemed to be steeped in a condescending humor and fine words, notwithstanding the importance of the questions discussed.

This Council was one of the most important that the Hurons have: to wit, concerning their feast of the Dead: they have nothing more sacred. The question was a very delicate one, for the matter discussed was whether the whole Country should put their dead in the same grave, according to their custom; and yet there were some discontented Villages, who wished to remain apart, not without the regret of the whole Country. Yet the thing passed over with all the gentleness and peace imaginable: at every turn the Masters of the Feast, who had assembled the Council, exhorted to gentleness, saying that it was a Council of peace. They call these

feil de paix. Ils nomment ces Confeils, *Endionraondaoné*, comme si on difoit, Conseil égal & facile comme les plaines & rafes campagnes. Quoy que diffent les opinãs, les Chefs du Conseil ne faisoient que [184] dire, Voila qui va bien. Les mutins excusoient leur diuision, difant qu'il n'en pouuoit arriuer du mal au Païs: que par le passé il y auoit eu de femblables diuisions, qui ne l'auoient pas ruiné. Les autres addouciissoient les affaires, difans que si quelqu'un des leurs s'égaroit du vray chemin, il ne falloit pas incontinent l'abandonner; que les freres auoient par fois des riotes par ensemble. Bref, c'estoit chose digne d'estonnement de voir dans des cœurs aigris vne telle moderation de paroles. Voila pour leurs Confeils.

Councils, *Endionraondaonté*, as if one should say, "A Council even and easy, like the level and reaped fields." Whatever the speakers say, the Leaders of the Council always say only this, [184] "That is very well." The mutinous persons excused their division, saying that no evil could arise therefrom to the Country; that in the past there had been similar divisions, which had not ruined it. The others softened matters, saying that, if one of their friends went astray from the true road, they must not immediately abandon him; that brothers sometimes had quarrels with each other. In short, it was a matter for great astonishment to see in these embittered hearts such moderation of words. So much for their Councils.

CHAPITRE VIII.

DES CEREMONIES QU'ILS GARDENT EN LEUR SEPULTURE, & DE LEUR DUEIL.

NOS Sauvages ne font point Sauvages en ce qui regarde les deuoirs, que la Nature mesme nous oblige de rendre aux morts: ils ne cedent point en cecy à plusieurs Nations beaucoup mieux policées. Vous diriez que toutes leurs fueurs, leurs traux, & leurs traittes, ne se rapportent quasi qu'à amasser dequoy [185] honorer les Morts; ils n'ont rien d'assez precieux pour cét effet; ils prostituent les robbes, les haches, & la Pourcelaine en telle quantité, que vous iugeriez à les voir en ces occasions, qu'ils n'en font aucun estat, & toutefois ce font toutes les richesses du Païs; vous les verrez fouuent en plein hyuer quasi tous nuds, pendant qu'ils ont de belles & bonnes robbes en leurs quaiffes qu'ils mettent en reserve pour les Morts; aussi est-ce là leur point d'honneur. C'est en cette occasion qu'ils veulent sur tout paroistre magnifiques. Mais ie ne parle icy que de leurs funerailles particulieres. Ces bonnes gens ne font pas comme beaucoup de Chrestiens, qui ne peuvent souffrir qu'on leur parle de la mort, & qui dans vne maladie mortelle, vous mettent en peine toute vne maison pour trouuer moyen de faire porter cette nouvelle au malade, sans le faire mourir par auance. Icy quand on desespere de la fanté de quelques-vns, non seulement on ne fait point de difficulté de leur

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE CEREMONIES THEY OBSERVE IN THEIR
BURIALS AND MOURNING.

OUR Savages are not Savages as regards the duties that Nature itself constrains us to render to the dead; they do not yield in this respect to many Nations much more civilized. You might say that all their exertions, their labors, and their trading, concern almost entirely the amassing of something with which [185] to honor the Dead. They have nothing sufficiently precious for this purpose; they lavish robes, axes, and Porcelain in such quantities that, to see them on such occasions, you would judge that they place no value upon them; and yet these are the whole riches of the Country. You will see them often, in the depth of winter, almost entirely naked, while they have handsome and valuable robes in store, that they keep in reserve for the Dead; for this is their point of honor. It is on such occasions they wish above all to appear magnificent. But I am speaking here only of their private funerals. These simple people are not like so many Christians, who cannot endure that any one should speak to them about death, and who in a mortal sickness put a whole house to trouble to find means of breaking the news to the sick man without hastening his death. Here when any one's health is despaired of, not only do they make no difficulty in telling him that his life is near its close, but they even prepare

dire, que c'est fait de leur vie; mais mesme on prepare en leur presence tout ce qui est necessaire pour leur sepulture: on leur monstre fouvent la robbe, les chausses, les fouliers, [186] & la ceinture qu'ils doivent emporter; fouvent on les enseueilit à leur mode auât qu'ils ayēt expiré, ils font leur festin d'adieu à leurs amis, où ils chantent quelquefois sans mōstrer aucune apprehensiō de la mort, qu'ils regardent fort indifferemment, ne se la figurant que cōme vn passage à vne vie fort peu differēte de celle cy. Aussi-tost que le malade a rendu le dernier soufpir, ils le mettent en l'estat qu'il doit estre dans le tombeau, ils ne l'étendēt pas de son long cōme nous faisons; mais ils le mettent en peloton, quasi en la mesme posture que les enfans font au vêtre de la mere. Iusques là ils tiennent la bonde de leurs larmes. Apres luy auoir rendu ces deuoirs, toute la Cabane commence à retentir de soufpirs, de gemissemens, & de plaintes, les enfans crient *Aïstan*, si c'est leur pere, & la mere *Aïen*, *Aïen*; mon fils, mon fils. Qui ne les verroit tout baignez de leurs larmes, iugeroit à les entendre, que ce ne sont que pleurs de ceremonies; ils fléchissent leurs voix tous d'un mesme accord, & en un ton lugubre, iusques à ce que quelque personne d'autorité fasse le hola; en mesme temps ils s'arrestent, le Capitaine s'en va promptement [187] par les Cabanes aduertir qu'un tel est mort. A l'arriué des amis ils recommencent de nouveau à pleurer, & se plaindre. Souuent quelqu'un des plus considerables prendra la parole, & consolera la mere & les enfans, tantost s'étendant sur les loüanges du defunct, loüant sa patience, sa debonnaireté, sa liberalité, sa magnificence, & s'il estoit guerrier, la grandeur de son cou-

in his presence all that is needed for his burial; they often show him the robe, the stockings, the shoes, [186] and the belt which he is to wear. Frequently they are prepared after their fashion for burial, before they have expired; they make their farewell feast to their friends, at which they sometimes sing without showing any dread of death, which they regard with very little concern, considering it only as the passage to a life differing very little from this. As soon as the sick man has drawn his last breath, they place him in the position in which he is to be in the grave; they do not stretch him at length as we do, but place him in a crouching posture, almost the same that a child has in its mother's womb. Thus far, they restrain their tears. After having performed these duties the whole Cabin begins to resound with cries, groans, and wails; the children cry *Aistan*, if it be their father; and the mother, *Aien, Aien*, "My son, my son." Any one who did not see them, quite bathed in their tears, would judge, to hear them, that these are only ceremonial tears; they make their voices tremble all with one accord, and in a lugubrious tone, until some person of authority makes them stop. As soon as they cease, the Captain goes promptly [187] through the Cabins, making known that such and such a one is dead. On the arrival of friends, they begin anew to weep and complain. Frequently some one of importance begins to speak, and consoles the mother and the children,—at times launching into praises of the deceased, lauding his patience, his good-nature, his liberality, his magnificence, and, if he were a warrior, the greatness of his courage; at times he will say, "What would you have? there was no longer any remedy,

rage: Tantoſt il dira, Que voulez-vous, il n'y a plus de remede, il falloir bien qu'il mouruſt, Nous ſommes tous ſujets à la mort, Et puis il y auoit trop long temps qu'il trainoit, &c. Il eſt vray qu'en cette occaſion, ils ne manquent point de diſcours. Je me ſuis quelquefois eſtonné de les voir long temps ſur ce propos, & apporter avec tant de diſcretion, toutes les conſiderations capables de donner quelque conſolation aux parens du defunct.

On enuoye auſſi donner auiſ de cette mort aux amis qui demeurent és autres Villages; & comme chaque famille en a vn autre qui a le ſoin de ſes Morts, ceux-là viennent au pluſtoſt pour donner ordre à tout, & determiner le iour des funerailles: d'ordinaire ils enterrent les Morts [188] le troiſième iour; & dès le matin la Capitaine donne ordre que par tout le Village on faſſe chaudiere pour le mort. Perſonne n'épargne ce qu'il a de meilleur. Ils font cecy à mon auiſ pour trois raiſons. Premièrement pour ſe conſoler les vns les autres, car ils s'entr'enuoyent des plats, & quaſi perſonne ne mange de la chaudiere qu'il a preparée. Secondement, à l'occaſion de ceux des autres Villages, qui viennent ſouuent en aſſez bon nombre. Tiercement, & principalement pour obliger l'ame du defunct, qu'ils croient y prèdre plaifir, & en mâger fa part. Toutes les chaudières eſtant vuidées, ou au moins diſtribuées, le Capitaine publie par le Village, que l'on va porter le mort au Cimetiere. Tout le Village ſ'aſſemble en la Cabane; on renouelle les pleurs, & ceux qui ont ſoin des funerailles appreſtèt vn brancard, où le mort eſt couché ſur vne natte, & enueloppé d'une robbe de Caſtor, & puis ils le leuent & le portent à quatre: tout le Vil-

he must indeed die, we are all subject to death, and then he dragged on too long," etc. It is true that, on such occasions, they are never lacking in speech. I have sometimes been surprised to see them dwelling a long time on this subject, and bringing forward, with much discretion, every consideration that might give consolation to the relatives of the deceased.

Word of the death is also sent to the friends who live in the other Villages; and, as each family has some one who takes care of its Dead, these latter come as soon as possible to take charge of everything, and determine the day of the funeral. Usually they inter the Dead [188] on the third day; as soon as it is light, the Captain gives orders that throughout the whole Village a feast be made for the dead. No one spares what he has of the best. They do this, in my opinion, for three reasons: First, to console one another, for they exchange dishes, and hardly any one eats any of the feast he has prepared; secondly, on account of those of other Villages, who often come in great numbers. Thirdly, and principally, to serve the soul of the deceased, which they believe takes pleasure in the feast, and in eating its share. All the kettles being emptied, or at least distributed, the Captain publishes throughout the Village that the body is about to be borne to the Cemetery. The whole Village assembles in the Cabin; the weeping is renewed; and those who have charge of the ceremonies get ready a litter on which the corpse is placed on a mat and enveloped in a Beaver robe, and then four lift and carry it away; the whole Village follows in silence to the Cemetery. A Tomb is there, made of bark and supported on four stakes,

lage fuit en filence iufques au Cimetiere. Il y a là vn Tombeau fait d'écorce & dreflé fur quatre pieux d'enuiron huit à dix pieds de haut. Cependant que l'on y accommode le [189] mort, & qu'on agence les écorces, le Capitaine publie les prefens qui ont eſté faits par les amis. En ce Païs auſſi bien qu'ailleurs les conſolations les plus agreables dans la perte des parès font touſiours accompagnez de prefens, qui font chaudieres, haches, robes de Caſtor, & colliers de Pourcelaine. Si le defunct eſtoit en quelque confideration dans le Païs, non ſeulement les amis & les voiſins, mais meſmes les Capitaines des autres Villages viendront en perſonne apporter leurs prefens. Or tous ces prefens ne fuiuent pas le mort dans le tombeau: on luy mettra quelquefois au col vn collier de Pourcelaine, & aupres de luy vn peigne, vne courge pleine d'huile, & deux ou trois petits pains: voila tout. Vne grande partie ſ'en va aux parens pour effuyer leurs larmes: l'autre partie ſe donne à ceux qui ont donné ordre aux funerailles pour recompenſe de leur peine. On met auſſi ſouuent en referue quelques robes, ou quelques haches pour faire largeſſe à la Jeuneſſe. Et le Capitaine met entre les mains de quelqu'un d'entre eux vn baſton d'enuiron vn pied, propoſant vn prix à celuy qui le luy oſtera. Ils ſe iettent [190] deſſus en troupe à corps perdu, & demeurent quelquefois vne heure entiere aux priſes. Cela fait chacun ſ'en retourne paſſiblement en ſa Cabane.

Je m'eſtois oublie de dire que d'ordinaire pendant toute cette ceremonie la mere ou la femme feront aux pieds du tombeau appellant le defunct en chantant, ou pluſtoſt en ſe plaignant d'un ton lugubre.

eight to ten feet high. However, before the corpse is put into it, [189] and before they arrange the bark, the Captain makes known the presents that have been given by the friends. In this Country, as well as elsewhere, the most agreeable consolations for the loss of friends are always accompanied by presents, such as kettles, axes, Beaver robes, and Porcelain collars. If the deceased was a person of importance in the Country, not only the friends and neighbors, but even the Captains of other Villages, will come in person and bring their presents. Now all the presents do not follow the dead man into the grave; sometimes a Porcelain collar is put around his neck, and near by a comb, a gourd full of oil, and two or three little loaves of bread; and that is all. A large share goes to the relatives, to dry their tears; the other share goes to those who have directed the funeral ceremonies, as a reward for their trouble. Some robes, also, are frequently laid aside, or some hatchets, as a gift for the Youth. The Chief puts into the hand of some one of the latter a stick about a foot long, offering a prize to the one who will take it away from him. They throw themselves [190] upon him in a body, with might and main, and remain sometimes a whole hour struggling. This over, each one returns quietly to his Cabin.

I had forgotten to say that usually, during this whole ceremony, the mother or the wife will be at the foot of the grave calling to the deceased with singing, or more frequently complaining in a lugubrious voice.

Now all these ceremonies do not always take place; as for those killed in war, they inter them, and the relatives make presents to their patrons, if

Or toutes ces ceremonies ne se gardent pas toujours; car pour ceux qui sont morts en guerre, ils les mettent en terre, & les parens font des presens à leurs patrons, ^{et} s'ils en auoient, ce qui est assez ordinaire dans le Païs, pour les encourager à faire vne leuée de soldats, & venger la mort du defunct. Pour les noyez on les enterre aussi apres auoir enleué par pieces les parties du corps les plus charnuës, comme i'ay expliqué plus en particulier, parlant de leurs superstitions. On double les presens en cette occasion, & tout le Païs s'y trouue souuent, & y contribué du sien; & tout cela, disent-ils, pour appaiser le Ciel, ou le Lac.

Il y a mesmes des ceremonies particulieres [191] pour les petits enfans decedez au deffous d'un mois ou deux; ils ne les mettent pas non plus comme les autres dans des sepulchres d'écorce dressez sur des pieux; mais les enterrent sur le chemin, afin, disent-ils, que quelque femme passant par là, ils entrent secretement en son ventre, & que de rechef elle leur donne la vie, & les enfante. Je me doute que le bon Nicodeme y eust trouué bien de la difficulté, quoy qu'il n'opposast que pour les vieillards, *Quomodo potest homo nasci cum sit senex*. Cette belle ceremonie se fit cet Hyuer en la personne d'un de nos petits Chrestiens, qui auoit esté nommé Ioseph au baptême. Je l'appris à cette occasion de la bouche mesme du pere de l'enfant.

Les funerailles faites, le deuil ne cesse pas, la femme le continuë toute l'année pour le mary, & le mary pour la femme: mais le grand deuil proprement ne dure que dix iours: pendant ce temps ils demeurent couchez sur leurs nattes, & enuolopez

they had any, which is rather common in this Country, in order to encourage them to raise a force of soldiers, and avenge the death of the deceased. As to the drowned, they are interred also, after the most fleshy parts of the body have been taken off, piece by piece, as I have explained more in detail in speaking of their superstitions. Double the presents are given on such an occasion, and people from the whole Country often gather there, and contribute of their property; and this is done, they say, to appease the Sky, or the Lake.

There are even special ceremonies [191] for little children who die less than a month or two old; they do not put them like the others into bark tombs set up on posts, but inter them on the road,—in order that, they say, if some woman passes that way, they may secretly enter her womb, and that she may give them life again, and bring them forth. I doubt not the good Nicodemus would have found much difficulty about this, although he only raised the objection in regard to old people, *Quomodo potest homo nasci cum sit senex?* This fine ceremony took place this Winter in the person of one of our little Christians, who had been named Joseph at baptism. I learned it on this occasion from the lips of the child's father himself.

The funeral ceremonies over, the mourning does not cease, the wife continues it the whole year for the husband, and the husband for the wife; but the great mourning properly lasts only ten days. During this time they remain lying on mats and enveloped in furs, their faces against the ground, without speaking or answering anything except *Cway*, to those who come to visit them. They do not warm themselves even in Winter, they [192] eat cold food,

dans leurs robbes, la face contre terre, fans parler, ny respondre, que *C&ay*, à ceux qui les viennent visiter: ils ne se chauffent point mesmes en Hyuer, ils [192] mangent froid, ils ne vont point aux festins, ne forment que de nuit pour leurs necessitez: ils se font couper au derriere de la teste vne poignée de cheveux, & disent que ce n'est pas fans grande douleur principalement quand le mary pratique cette ceremonie à l'occasion de la mort de sa femme, ou la femme à l'occasion de la mort du mary. Voila pour ce qui est du grand deuil.

Le petit deuil dure toute l'année: quand ils veulent visiter ils ne saluent point, & ne disent point *C&ay*, ils ne se graissent point les cheveux; les femmes neantmoins le font quand leurs meres le leur commandent, qui ont en leur disposition leur chevelure, & mesmes leur personnes; c'est à elles de les enuoyer aux festins, fans cela plusieurs n'y iroient point. Ce que ie trouue de remarquable est que pendant toute l'année la femme ny le mary ne se remarient point, autrement ils feroient parler d'eux dans le Pays.

Les sepultures ne font pas perpetuelles; comme leurs Villages ne font stables que pour quelques années que dure la commodité des bois: les corps ne demeurent dans les Cimetieres que iusques à la feste des [193] Morts, qui se fait d'ordinaire de douze en douze ans. Or dans ce terme ils ne laissent pas d'honorer souuent les defuncts: de temps en temps ils font faire chaudiere pour leu[r]s ames par tout le Village, comme le iour des funerailles, & resuscitent leur nom le plustost qu'ils peuuent. A cet effet ils font des presens aux Capitaines, pour donner à

they do not go to the feasts, they go out only at night for their necessities; they cause a handful of hair to be cut from the back of the head; they say this is done only when the grief is profound,—the husband practicing this ceremony generally on the death of his wife, or the wife on the death of her husband. This is what there is of their great mourning.

The lesser mourning lasts all the year. When they go visiting they do not make any salutation, not even saying *Cway*, nor do they grease their hair; the women do it, however, when their mothers command them, as the latter have at their disposal their hair, and even their persons; it is their privilege to send the daughters to feasts, for without the command many would not go. What I find remarkable is that, during the whole year, neither the husband nor the wife remarries; if they did, they would be talked about throughout the Country.

The graves are not permanent; as their Villages are stationary only during a few years, while the supplies of the forest last, the bodies only remain in the Cemeteries until the feast of the [193] Dead, which usually takes place every twelve years. Within this time they do not cease to honor the dead frequently; from time to time, they make a feast for their souls throughout the whole Village, as they did on the day of the funeral, and revive their names as often as they can. For this purpose they make presents to the Captains, to give to him who will be content to take the name of the deceased; and, if he was held in consideration and esteem in the Country while alive, the one who resuscitates him,—after a magnificent feast to the whole Country, that he may make himself known under this name,—makes a levy of

celuy qui fera content de prendre le nom du defunct ; & s'il estoit en consideration & en estime dans le Païs de son viuant, celuy qui le resuscite apres vn festin magnifique à tout le Païs, pour se faire connoistre sous ce nom, fait vne leuée de ieunes gens deliberez, & s'en va en guerre pour faire quelque braue coup, qui fasse paroistre à tout le Païs, qu'il a non seulement herité du nom, mais aussi des vertus & du courage du defunct.

the resolute young men and goes away on a war expedition, to perform some daring exploit that shall make it evident to the whole Country that he has inherited not only the name, but also the virtues and courage of the deceased.

CHAPITRE IX.

DE LA FESTE SOLENNELLE DES MORTS.

LA feste des Morts est la ceremonie la plus celebre qui soit parmy les Hurons; [194] ils luy donnent le nom de festin, d'autant que, comme ie diray tout maintenant, les corps estans tirez des Cimetieres, chaque Capitaine fait vn festin des ames dans son Village: le plus considerable & le plus magnifique est celuy du Maistre de la Feste, qui est pour cette raison appellé par excellence le Maistre du festin.

Cette Feste est toute pleine de ceremonies, mais vous diriez que la principale est celle de la chaudiere, cette-cy étouffe toutes les autres, & on ne parle quasi de la feste des Morts, mesmes dans les Conseils les plus serieux, que sous le nom de chaudiere: ils y approprient tous les termes de cuisine; de sorte que pour dire auancer ou retarder la feste des Morts, ils diront détiiser, ou attifer le feu dessous la chaudiere: & quand on est sur ces termes, qui diroit la chaudiere est renuerfée, ce seroit à dire, il n'y aura point de feste des Morts.

Or il n'y a d'ordinaire qu'une seule feste dans chaque Nation; tous les corps se mettent en une mesme fosse: ie dis d'ordinaire, car cette année que c'est faite la feste des Morts, la chaudiere a esté diuifiée, [195] & cinq Villages de cette pointe où nous sommes ont fait bande à part, & ont mis leurs

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE SOLEMN FEAST OF THE DEAD.

THE feast of the Dead is the most renowned ceremony among the Hurons; [194] they give it the name of feast because, as I shall now fully relate, when the bodies are taken from their Cemeteries, each Captain makes a feast for the souls in his Village,—the most considerable and most magnificent having been that of the Master of the Feast, who is for that reason called *par excellence*, the Master of the feast.

This Feast abounds in ceremonies, but you might say that the principal ceremony is that of the kettle; this latter overshadows all the rest, and the feast of the Dead is hardly mentioned, even in the most important Councils, except under the name of “the kettle.” They appropriate to it all the terms of cookery, so that, in speaking of hastening or of putting off the feast of the Dead, they will speak of scattering or of stirring up the fire beneath the kettle; and, employing this way of speaking, one who should say “the kettle is overturned,” would mean that there would be no feast of the Dead.

Now usually there is only a single feast in each Nation; all the bodies are put into a common pit. I say, usually, for this year, which has happened to be the feast of the Dead, the kettle has been divided; [195] and five Villages of the part where we are have acted by themselves, and have put their dead into a

morts dans vne fosse particuliere. Celuy qui estoit Capitaine de la feste precedente, & qui est comme le Chef de cette pointe, a pris pour pretexte que sa chaudiere & son festin auoit esté gasté, & qu'il estoit obligé d'en refaire vn autre: mais en effet ce n'estoit qu'un pretexte; la principale cause de ce diuorce est que les grosses testes de ce Village se plaignent il y a long temps de ce que les autres tirent tout à eux; qu'ils n'entrent pas comme ils voudroient bien dans la cognoissance des affaires du Païs, & qu'on ne les appelle pas aux Confeils les plus secrets & les plus importans, & au partage des presens. Cette diuision a esté fuiuite de défiance de part & d'autre; Dieu vueille qu'elle n'apporte point d'empeschement à la publication du saint Euangile: mais il faut que ie touche briuevement l'ordre & les circonstances de cette feste, & que ie finisse.

Les douze ans ou enuiron estant expirez, les Anciens & les Notables du Païs s'affemblent pour deliberer precisément de la saison en laquelle se fera la feste, au contentement de tout le Païs, & des Nations [196] estrangeres qui y feront inuitées. La resolution prise, comme tous les corps se doiuent transporter au Village où est la fosse commune, chaque famille donne ordre à ses morts, mais avec vn soin & vne affection qui ne se peut dire: s'ils ont des parens morts en quelque endroit du Païs que ce soit, ils n'épargnent point leur peine pour les aller querir: ils les enleuent des Cimetieres, les chargent sur leurs propres épaules, & les courent des plus belles robes qu'ils ayent. Dans chaque Village ils choisissent vn beau iour, se transportent au Cimetiere, où chacun de ceux qu'ils appellent, *Aihconde*, qui ont eu soin de

private pit. He who was Captain of the preceding feast, and who is regarded as the Chief of this place, has given as an excuse that his kettle and his feast had been spoiled, and that he was obliged to make another; but in reality this was only a pretext. The principal cause of this separation is that the notables of this Village have been complaining this long time that the others take everything upon themselves; that they do not become acquainted as they would like with the affairs of the Country; that they are not called to the most secret and important Councils, and to a share of the presents. This division has been followed by distrust on both sides; God grant that it may not cause any hindrance to the preaching of the holy Gospel. But I must touch briefly on the order and the circumstances of this feast, and then I must finish.

Twelve years or thereabout having elapsed, the Old Men and Notables of the Country assemble, to deliberate in a definite way on the time at which the feast shall be held to the satisfaction of the whole Country and of the foreign Nations [196] that may be invited to it. The decision having been made, as all the bodies are to be transported to the Village where is the common grave, each family sees to its dead, but with a care and affection that cannot be described: if they have dead relatives in any part of the Country, they spare no trouble to go for them; they take them from the Cemeteries, bear them on their shoulders, and cover them with the finest robes they have. In each Village they choose a fair day, and proceed to the Cemetery, where those called *Aihe-onde*, who take care of the graves, draw the bodies from the tombs in the presence of the relatives, who

la sepulture, tirent les corps du tombeau en presence des parens qui renouellent leurs pleurs, & entrent dans les premiers sentimens qu'ils auoient le iour des funerailles. Je me trouuay à ce spectacle, & y inuitay volontiers tous nos domestiques; car ie ne pense pas qu'il se puisse voir au monde vne plus viue image & vne plus parfaite representation de ce que c'est que l'homme. Il est vray qu'en France nos Cimetieres preschent puissamment, & que tous ces os entassez les vns sur les autres sans discretion des pauvres [197] d'auec les riches, ou des petits d'auec les grands, font autant de voix qui nous crient continuellement la pensée de la mort, la vanité des choses du monde, & le mépris de la vie presente: mais il me semble que ce que font nos Sauvages à cette occasion touche encor dauantage, & nous fait voir de plus près, & apprehender plus sensiblement nostre misere. Car apres auoir fait ouuerture des tombeaux, ils vous étallent sur la place toutes ces Carcasses, & les laissent assez long temps ainsi decouuertes, donnant tout loisir aux spectateurs d'apprendre vne bonne fois ce qu'ils feront quelque iour. Les vnes font toutes décharnées, & n'ont qu'un parchemin sur les os; les autres ne font que comme recuites & boucannées, sans monstrier quasi aucune apparence de pourriture; & les autres font encor toutes groüillantes de vers. Les parens s'estant suffisamment contentez de cette veüe, les couurent de belles robes de Castor toutes neufues: en fin au bout de quelque temps ils les décharnent, & en enleuent la peau & la chair qu'ils iettent dans le feu avec les robes & les nattes dont ils ont esté enseuelis. Pour les corps entiers de ceux qui [198] font nouvellement morts, ils les laissent en mesme

renew their tears and feel afresh the grief they had on the day of the funeral. I was present at the spectacle, and willingly invited to it all our servants; for I do not think one could see in the world a more vivid picture or more perfect representation of what man is. It is true that in France our Cemeteries preach powerfully, and that all those bones piled up one upon another without discrimination,—those of the poor [197] with those of the rich, those of the mean with those of the great,—are so many voices continually proclaiming to us the thought of death, the vanity of the things of this world, and contempt for the present life: but it seems to me that what our Savages do on this occasion touches us still more, and makes us see more closely and apprehend more sensibly our wretched state. For, after having opened the graves, they display before you all these Corpses, on the spot, and they leave them thus exposed long enough for the spectators to learn at their leisure, and once for all, what they will be some day. The flesh of some is quite gone, and there is only parchment on their bones; in other cases, the bodies look as if they had been dried and smoked, and show scarcely any signs of putrefaction; and in still other cases they are still swarming with worms. When the friends have gazed upon the bodies to their satisfaction, they cover them with handsome Beaver robes quite new: finally, after some time they strip them of their flesh, taking off skin and flesh which they throw into the fire along with the robes and mats in which the bodies were wrapped. As regards the bodies of those [198] recently dead, they leave these in the state in which they are, and content themselves by simply covering them with new robes.

estat, & se contentent seulement de les courir de robes neuves. Ils ne toucherent qu'à un Vieillard dont j'ay parlé cy-deuant, qui estoit mort cette Automne au retour de la pèche: ce gros corps n'auoit commencé à se pourrir que depuis un mois à l'occasion des premieres chaleurs du Printemps; les vers fourmilloient de toutes parts, & le pus & l'ordure qui en fortoit rendoit une puanteur presque intolérable; cependant ils eurent bien le courage de le tirer de la robe où il estoit enuveloppé, le nettoyerent le mieux qu'ils peurent, le prirent à belles mains, & le mirent dans une natte, & une robe toute neuve, & tout cela sans faire paroître aucune horreur de cette pourriture. Ne voila pas un bel exemple pour animer les Chrestiens, qui doiuent auoir des pensées bien plus releuées, aux actions de charité, & aux œuvres de misericorde envers le prochain. Après cela qui aura horreur de la puanteur d'un Hospital, & qui ne prendra un singulier plaisir de se voir aux pieds d'un malade tout couuert de playes, dans la personne duquel il considere le Fils de [199] Dieu. Comme ils estoient à décharner toutes ces carcasses, ils trouuerent dans le corps de deux une espece de fort, l'un que ie vis de mes yeux estoit un œuf de Tortuë avec une courroye de cuir; & l'autre que nos Peres manierent estoit une petite Tortuë de la grosseur d'une noix; ce qui fit croire qu'ils auoient esté enforcelezz, & qu'il y auoit des Sorciers en nostre Village; d'où vint la resolution à quelques-uns de le quitter au plustost: en effet deux ou trois iours apres un des plus riches, craignant qu'il ne luy arriuaist quelque malheur, transporta sa Cabane à deux lieux de nous au Village d'*Arontaen*.

Of the latter they handled only one Old Man, of whom I have spoken before, who died this Autumn on his return from fishing: this swollen corpse had only begun to decay during the last month, on the occasion of the first heat of Spring; the worms were swarming all over it, and the corruption that oozed out of it gave forth an almost intolerable stench; and yet they had the courage to take away the robe in which it was enveloped, cleaned it as well as they could, taking the matter off by handfuls, and put the body into a fresh mat and robe, and all this without showing any horror at the corruption. Is not that a noble example to inspire Christians, who ought to have thoughts much more elevated to acts of charity and works of mercy towards their neighbor? After that, who will be afraid of the stench of a Hospital; and who will not take a peculiar pleasure in seeing himself at the feet of a sick man all covered with wounds, in the person of whom he beholds the Son of [199] God? As they had to remove the flesh from all these corpses, they found in the bodies of two a kind of charm,—one, that I saw myself, was a Turtle's egg with a leather strap; and the other, which our Fathers handled, was a little Turtle of the size of a nut. These excited the belief that they had been bewitched, and that there were Sorcerers in our Village,—whence came the resolution to some to leave at once; indeed, two or three days later one of the richest men, fearing that some harm would come to him, transported his Cabin to a place two leagues from us, to the Village of *Arontacn*.²³

The bones having been well cleaned, they put them partly into bags, partly into fur robes, loaded them on their shoulders, and covered these packages

Or les os estans bien nettoyez, ils les mirent partie dans des sacs, partie en des robbes, les chargerent sur leurs épaules, & couurirent ces paquets d'une autre belle robe pendante. Pour les corps entiers, ils les mirent sur une espece de brâcart, & les porterent avec tous les autres chacun en sa Cabane, où chaque famille fit un festin à ses morts.

Retournant de ceste feste avec un Capitaine qui a l'esprit fort bon, & est pour estre quelque iour bien avant dans les affaires [200] du Païs, ie luy demanday pourquoy ils appelloient les os des morts *Atisken*. Il me répondit du meilleur sens qu'il eust, & ie recueilly de son discours, que plusieurs s'imaginent que nous avons deux ames, toutes deux diuissibles & materielles, & cependant toutes deux raisonnables; l'une se separe du corps à la mort, & demeure neantmoins dans le Cimetiere iusques à la feste des Morts, apres laquelle, ou elle se change en Tourterelle, ou selon la plus commune opinion, elle s'en va droit au village des ames. L'autre est comme attachée au corps & informe, pour ainsi dire, le cadaure, & demeure en la fosse des morts, apres la feste, & n'en sort iamais, si ce n'est que quelqu'un l'enfante de rechef. Il m'apporta pour preuue de cette metempsychose, la parfaite ressemblance qu'ont quelques-uns avec quelques personnes defuntes; Voila une belle Philosophie. Tant y a, que voila pourquoy ils appellent les os des morts, *Atisken*, les ames.

Un iour ou deux auparavant que de partir pour la feste, ils porterēt toutes ces ames dans une des plus grandes Cabanes du Village, où elles furent une partie attachée [201] aux perches de la Cabane, & l'autre estallée par la Cabane, & le Capitaine les traita, &

with another beautiful hanging robe. As for the whole bodies, they put them on a species of litter, and carried them with all the others, each into his Cabin, where each family made a feast to its dead.

Returning from this feast with a Captain who is very intelligent, and who will some day be very influential in the affairs [200] of the Country, I asked him why they called the bones of the dead *Atisken*. He gave me the best explanation he could, and I gathered from his conversation that many think we have two souls, both of them being divisible and material, and yet both reasonable; the one separates itself from the body at death, yet remains in the Cemetery until the feast of the Dead,—after which it either changes into a Turtledove, or, according to the most common belief, it goes away at once to the village of souls. The other is, as it were, bound to the body, and informs, so to speak, the corpse; it remains in the ditch of the dead after the feast, and never leaves it, unless some one bears it again as a child. He pointed out to me, as a proof of this metempsychosis, the perfect resemblance some have to persons deceased. A fine Philosophy, indeed. Such as it is, it shows why they call the bones of the dead, *Atisken*, “the souls.”

A day or two before setting out for the feast, they carried all these souls into one of the largest Cabins of the Village, where one portion was hung [201] to the poles of the Cabin, and the other portion spread out through it; the Captain entertained them, and made them a magnificent feast in the name of a deceased Captain, whose name he bore. I was at this feast of souls, and noticed at it four peculiar things. First, the presents which the relatives made for the

leur fit vn festin magnifique au nom d'un Capitaine defunct, dont il porte le nom. Je me trouuay à ce festin des ames, & y remarquay quatre choses particulieres. Premièrement, les presens que faisoient les parens pour la feste qui consistoient en robbes, colliers de Pourcelaine, & chaudieres, estoient étendus sur des perches tout le long de la Cabane, de part & d'autre. Secondement, le Capitaine chanta la chanson du Capitaine defunct, selon le desir que luy mesme auoit témoigné auant sa mort, qu'elle fust chantée en cette occasion. Tiercement, tous les conuiez eurent la liberté de se faire part les vns aux autres de ce qu'ils auoient de bon, & mesmes d'en emporter chez eux contre la coustume des festins ordinaires. Quatriesmement, à la fin du festin pour tout compliment à celui qui les auoit traitez, ils imiterent, comme ils disent le cry des ames, & fortirent de la Cabane en criant *haéé, haéé*.

Le maistre du festin, & mesme *Anenkhiondic*, Capitaine general de tout le Païs, nous enuoya inuiter plusieurs fois [202] avec beaucoup d'instance. Vous eussiez dit que la feste n'eust pas esté bonne sans nous. J'y enuoyay deux de nos Peres quelques iours auparavant pour voir les preparatifs, & sçauoir au vray le iour de la feste. *Anenkhiondic* leur fit tres-bon accueil, & à leur depart les conduisit luy-mesme à vn quart de lieuë de là où estoit la fosse, & leur monstra avec grand témoignage d'affection tout l'appareil de la feste.

La feste se deuoit faire le Samedi de la Pentecoste; mais quelques affaires qui suruindrent, & l'incertitude du temps la fit remettre au Lundy. Les sept ou huict iours de deuant la feste se passerent à assem-

feast, and which consisted of robes, Porcelain collars, and kettles, were strung on poles along the Cabin, on both sides. Secondly, the Captain sang the song of the deceased Captain, in accordance with the desire the latter had expressed, before his death, to have it sung on this occasion. Thirdly, all the guests had the liberty of sharing with one another whatever good things they had, and even of taking these home with them, contrary to the usual custom of feasts. Fourthly, at the end of the feast, by way of compliment to him who had entertained them, they imitated the cry of souls, and went out of the Cabin crying *haéé, haé*.

The master of the feast, and even *Anenkhiondic*, chief Captain of the whole Country, sent several [202] pressing invitations to us. You might have said that the feast would not have been a success without us. I sent two of our Fathers, several days beforehand, to see the preparations and to learn with certainty the day of the feast. *Anenkhiondic* gave them a very hearty welcome, and on their departure conducted them himself a quarter of a league thence, where the pit was, and showed them, with great demonstrations of regard, all the preparations for the feast.

The feast was to take place on the Saturday of Pentecost; but some affairs that intervened, and the uncertainty of the weather, caused it to be postponed until Monday. The seven or eight days before the feast were spent in assembling the souls, as well as the Strangers who had been invited; meanwhile from morning until night the living were continually making presents to the youth, in consideration of the dead. On one side the women were shooting with

bler, tant les ames, que les Estrangers, qui y furent inuitez; cependant depuis le matin iufques au foir, ce n'estoit que largeffe que faisoient les viuans à la ieunesse en confideration des defuncts. D'un costé les femmes tiroient de l'arc à qui auroit le prix, qui estoit quelque ceinture de Porc-épic, ou quelque collier, ou chaifne de Pourcelaine; de l'autre costé en plusieurs endroits du Village les ieunes hommes tiroient au baston à qui l'emporterait. Le prix de cette victoire estoit vne [203] hache, quelques cousteaux, ou mefme vne robbe de Caftor. De iour à autre arriuoiient les ames. Il y a du contentement de voir ces conuois, qui font quelquefois de deux & trois cens perfonnes; chacun porte fes ames; c'est à dire, fes offemens empacquetez fur fon dos, à la façon que i'ay dit, fouz vne belle robbe. Quelques-vns auoient accommodé leurs pacquets en figure d'homme ornez de colliers de Pourcelaine, avec vne belle guirlande de grand poil rouge. A la fortie de leur Village, toute la troupe crioit *haéé, haé*, & reïteroient ce cry des ames par le chemin. Ce cry, difent ils, les foulage grandement; autrement ce fardeau, quoy que d'ames, leur peferoit bien fort fur le dos, & leur cauferoit vn mal de costé pour toute leur vie. Ils vont à petites iournées; nostre Village fut trois iours à faire quatre lieuës, & à aller à *Ossoffané*, que nous appellons la Rochelle, où se deuoient faire toutes les ceremonies. Auffi-toft qu'ils arriuent aupres de quelque Village, ils crient encor leur *haéé, haé*: Tout le Village leur vient au deuant, il se fait encor à cette occasion force largeffes. Chacun a son rendez vous dans quelqu'une des [204] Cabanes, tous fçauent où ils doiuent loger leurs ames; cela se fait fans confu-

the bow for a prize,—a Porcupine girdle, or a collar or string of Porcelain beads; elsewhere in the Village, the young men were shooting at a stick to see who could hit it. The prize for this victory was an [203] axe, some knives, or even a Beaver robe. From day to day the souls arrived. It is very interesting to see these processions, sometimes of two or three hundred persons; each one brings his souls, that is, his bones, done up in parcels on his back, under a handsome robe, in the way I have described. Some had arranged their parcels in the form of a man, ornamented with Porcelain collars, and elegant bands of long red fur. On setting out from the Village, the whole band cried out *haéé*, *haé*, and repeated this cry of the souls by the way. This cry they say relieves them greatly; otherwise the burden, although of souls, would weigh very heavily on their backs, and cause them a backache all the rest of their lives. They go short journeys; our Village was three days in going four leagues to reach *Ossossané*, which we call la Rochelle, where the ceremonies were to take place. As soon as they arrive near a Village they cry again *haéé*, *haé*. The whole Village comes to meet them; plenty of gifts are given on such an occasion. Each has his rendezvous in one of the [204] Cabins, all know where they are to lodge their souls, so it is done without confusion. At the same time, the Captains hold a Council, to discuss how long the band shall sojourn in the Village.

All the souls of eight or nine Villages had reached la Rochelle by the Saturday of Pentecost; but the fear of bad weather compelled them, as I have said, to postpone the ceremony until Monday. We were lodged a quarter of a league away, at the old Vil-

sion. En mesme temps les Capitaines tiennent Conseil pour deliberer combièn de temps la troupe seiournera dans le Village.

Toutes les ames de huict ou neuf Villages, s'estoient rendus à la Rochelle dès le Samedy de la Pentecoste; mais la crainte du mauuais temps obligea, comme i'ay dit, de remettre la ceremonie au Lundy. Nous estions logez à vn quart de lieuë de là, au vieux Village dans vne Cabane, où il y auoit bien cent ames penduës & attachées à des perches, dont quelques vnes sentoient vn peu plus fort que le mufq.

Le Lundy fur le midy, on vint auertir qu'on se tint prest, qu'on alloit commencer la ceremonie; on détache en mesme temps ces paquets d'ames, les parens les déueloppent derechef pour dire les derniers adieux; les pleurs recommencerent de nouveau. L'admiray la tendresse d'une femme enuers son pere, & ses enfans; elle est fille d'un Capitaine, qui est mort fort âgé, & a esté autrefois fort cōsiderable dās le Païs; elle luy peignoit sa chevelure elle manioit ses os les vns apres les autres, avec la mesme affectiō que si elle luy eust voulu [205] rendre la vie; elle luy mit aupres de luy son *Atfatoneðai*, c'est à dire son paquet de buchettes de Conseil, qui sont tous les liures & papiers du Païs. Pour ses petits enfans elle leur mit des brasselets de Pourcelaine & de raffade aux bras, & baigna leurs os de ses larmes; on ne l'en pouuoit quasi separer, mais on preffoit, & il fallut incontinent partir. Celuy qui portoit le corps de ce vieux Capitaine marchoit à la teste, les hommes fuiuoient, & puis les femmes, ils marchoient en cēt ordre, iusques à ce qu'ils arriuerent à la fosse.

lage, in a Cabin where there were fully a hundred souls hung to and fixed upon the poles, some of which smelled a little stronger than musk.

On Monday, about noon, they came to inform us that we should hold ourselves in readiness, for they were going to begin the ceremony; they took down at the same time, the packages of souls; and the relatives again unfolded them to say their last adieus; the tears flowed afresh. I admired the tenderness of one woman toward her father and children; she is the daughter of a Chief who died at an advanced age, and was once very influential in the Country; she combed his hair and handled his bones, one after the other, with as much affection as if she would have desired [205] to restore life to him; she put beside him his *Atsatonewai*, that is, his package of Council sticks, which are all the books and papers of the Country. As for her little children, she put on their arms bracelets of Porcelain and glass beads, and bathed their bones with her tears; they could scarcely tear her away from these, but they insisted, and it was necessary to depart immediately. The one who bore the body of this old Captain walked at the head; the men followed, and then the women, walking in this order until they reached the pit.

Let me describe the arrangement of this place. It was about the size of the place Royale at Paris. There was in the middle of it a great pit, about ten feet deep and five brasses wide. All around it was a scaffold, a sort of staging very well made, nine to ten brasses in width, and from nine to ten feet high; above this staging there were a number of poles laid across, and well arranged, with cross-poles to which these packages of souls were hung and bound. The

Voicy la disposition de cette place, elle estoit environ de la grandeur de la place Royale à Paris. Il y auoit au milieu vne grande fosse d'environ dix pieds de profondeur, & cinq brasses de diametre; tout autour vn échaffaut & vne espece de theatre, assez bien fait de neuf à dix brasses de diametre, & de dix a neuf pieds de hauteur; au dessus du theatre il y auoit quantité de perches dressées, & bien arrangées, & d'autres en trauers pour y pendre, & attacher tous ces paquets d'ames. Les corps entiers comme ils deuoient estre mis au fond de la fosse estoient [206] dès le iour precedent souz l'échaffaut, étendus sur des écorces, ou des nattes dressées sur des pieux de la hauteur d'un homme aux environs de la fosse.

Tout la Compagnie arriua avec les corps environ à vne heure apres Midy, & se departirent en diuers cantons, selon les familles & les Villages, & déchargerent à terre leurs paquets d'ames à peu près comme on fait les pots de terre à ces Foires de Villages: ils déployerent aussi leurs paquets de robbes, & tous les prefens qu'ils auoient apporté, & les étendirent sur des perches, qui estoient de 5. à 600. toises d'étenduë; aussi y auoit il iusques à douze cens prefens qui demeurerent ainsi en parade deux bonnes heures, pour donner loisir aux Estrangers de voir les richesses & la magnificence du Païs. Je ne trouuay pas que la Compagnie fust grâde comme ie m'estois figuré: s'il y auoit deux mille personnes c'estoit quasi tout. Environ les trois heures chacun ferra ses pieces, & plia ses robbes.

Sur ces entrefaites chaque Capitaine par ordre donna le signal, & tout incontinent chargez de leurs

whole bodies, as they were to be put in the bottom of the pit, had been [206] the preceding day placed under the scaffold, stretched upon bark or mats fastened to stakes about the height of a man, on the borders of the pit.

The whole Company arrived with their corpses about an hour after Midday, and divided themselves into different cantons, according to their families and Villages, and laid on the ground their parcels of souls, almost as they do earthen pots at the Village Fairs. They unfolded also their parcels of robes, and all the presents they had brought, and hung them upon poles, which were from 5 to 600 toises in extent; so there were as many as twelve hundred presents which remained thus on exhibition two full hours, to give Strangers time to see the wealth and magnificence of the Country. I did not find the Company so numerous as I had expected; if there were two thousand persons, that was about all. About three o'clock, each one put away his various articles, and folded up his robes.

Meanwhile, each Captain by command gave the signal; and all, at once, loaded with their packages of souls, running as if to the assault of a town, ascended [207] the Stage by means of ladders hung all round it, and hung them to the cross poles, each Village having its own department. That done, all the ladders were taken away; but a few Chiefs remained there and spent the rest of the afternoon, until seven o'clock, in announcing the presents which were made in the name of the dead to certain specified persons.

"This," said they, "is what such and such a dead man gives to such and such a relative." About five or six o'clock, they lined the bottom and sides of the

paquets d'ame[s] courans comme à l'affaut d'une ville, monterent [207] sur ce Theatre à la faueur des échelles qui estoient tout autour, & les pendirent aux perches : chaque Village y auoit son département. Cela fait, on osta toutes les échelles, & quelques Capitaines y demeurèrent, & passerent tout le reste de l'apresdinée iusques à sept heures à publier des presens qu'ils faisoient au nom des defuncts à quelques personnes particulieres.

Voilà, disoient ils, ce qu'un tel defunct donne à un tel son parent. Environ les cinq à six heures ils pauserent le fond de la fosse, & la borderent de belles grâdes robes neufues de dix Castors, en telle façon qu'elles s'estendoient plus d'un pied au dehors de la fosse. Comme ils preparent les robes qui deuoient estre employées à cet usage, quelques-uns descendirent au fond, & en apporterent leurs mains pleines de fable : ie m'enquis que vouloit dire cette ceremonie, & appris qu'ils ont cette creance que ce fable les rend heureux au ieu. De ces douze cens presens, qui auoient esté étalés sur la place, quarante-huit robes seruirent à paver & border la fosse, & chaque corps entier, outre la robe dont il estoit enuveloppé, [208] en auoit encor une, & quelques-uns iusques à deux, dont ils furent couuerts. Voilà tout ; de forte que ie ne pense pas que chaque corps eust la sienne, l'un portant l'autre, qui est bien le moins qu'il peut auoir pour sa sepulture ; car ce que font les draps & les linceux en France, font icy les robes de Castor. Mais que deuient donc le reste, ie le diray tout maintenant.

Sur les sept heures ils descendoient les corps entiers dans la fosse : nous eumes toutes les peines du

pit with fine large new robes, each of ten Beaver skins, in such a way that they extended more than a foot out of it. As they were preparing the robes which were to be employed for this purpose, some went down to the bottom and brought up handfuls of sand. I asked what this ceremony meant, and learned that they have a belief that this sand renders them successful at play. Of those twelve hundred presents that had been displayed, forty-eight robes served to line the bottom and sides of the pit; and each entire body, besides the robe in which it had been enveloped, [208] had another one, and sometimes even two more, to cover it. That was all; so that I do not think each body had its own robe, one with another, which is surely the least it can have in its burial; for what winding sheets and shrouds are in France, Beaver robes are here. But what becomes then of the remainder? I will explain, in a moment.

At seven o'clock, they let down the whole bodies into the pit. We had the greatest difficulty in getting near; nothing has ever better pictured for me the confusion there is among the damned. On all sides you could have seen them letting down half-decayed bodies; and on all sides was heard a horrible din of confused voices of persons, who spoke and did not listen; ten or twelve were in the pit and were arranging the bodies all around it, one after another. They put in the very middle of the pit three large kettles, which could only be of use for souls; one had a hole through it, another had no handle, and the third was of scarcely more value. I saw very few Porcelain collars; it is true, they [209] put many on the bodies. This is all that was done on this day.

monde d'en aborder; iamais rien ne m'a mieux figuré la confusion qui est parmy les damnez. Vous eussiez veu décharger de tous costez des corps à demy pourris, & de tous costez on entendoit vn horrible tintamarre de voix confuses de personnes qui parloient & ne s'entendoient pas: dix ou douze estoient en la fosse & les arrangeoient tout autour les vns aupres les autres. Ils mirent tout au beau milieu trois grandes chaudieres qui n'estoient bonnes que pour les ames; l'une estoit percée, l'autre n'auoit point d'anse, & la troisième ne valloit gueres mieux: i'y vis fort peu de colliers de Pourcelaine; il est vray qu'ils [209] en mettent beaucoup dans les corps. Voila tout ce qui se fit cette iournée.

Tout le monde passa la nuit sur la place, ils allumerent force feux, & firent chaudiere. Nous autres nous nous retirasmes au vieux Village avec resolution de retourner le lendemain au point du iour qu'ils deuoient ietter les os dans la fosse; mais nous ne peusmes quasi arriuer assez à temps, nonobstant toute la diligence que nous apportasmes, à raison d'un accident qui arriua. Vne de ces ames qui n'estoit pas bien attachée, ou peut estre trop pesante pour la corde qui la portoit, tomba d'elle mesme en la fosse: ce bruit éveilla la Compagnie, qui courut & monta incontinent à la foule sur l'échaffaut, & vuida sans ordre chaque paquet dans la fosse, referuant neantmoins les robbes desquelles elles estoient enuelpées. Nous fortions pour lors du Village, mais le bruit estoit si grand, qu'il nous sembloit quasi que nous y estions. Approchans nous vismes tout à fait une image de l'Enfer: cette grande place estoit toute remplie de feux & de flammes, & l'air retentissoit de

All the people passed the night on the spot; they lighted many fires, and slung their kettles. We withdrew for the night to the old Village, with the resolve to return the next morning, at daybreak, when they were to throw the bones into the pit; but we could hardly arrive in time, although we made great haste, on account of an accident that happened. One of the souls, which was not securely tied, or was perhaps too heavy for the cord that fastened it, fell of itself into the pit; the noise awakened the Company, who immediately ran and mounted in a crowd upon the scaffold, and emptied indiscriminately each package into the pit, keeping, however, the robes in which they were enveloped. We had only set out from the Village at that time, but the noise was so great that it seemed almost as if we were there. As we drew near, we saw nothing less than a picture of Hell. The large space was quite full of fires and flames, and the air resounded in all directions with the confused voices of these Barbarians; the noise ceased, however, [210] for some time, and they began to sing,—but in voices so sorrowful and lugubrious that it represented to us the horrible sadness and the abyss of despair into which these unhappy souls are forever plunged.

Nearly all the souls were thrown in when we arrived, for it was done almost in the turning of a hand; each one had made haste, thinking there would not be room enough for all the souls; we saw, however, enough of it to judge of the rest. There were five or six in the pit, arranging the bones with poles. The pit was full, within about two feet; they turned back over the bones the robes which bordered the edge of the pit, and covered the remaining space

toutes parts des voix confuses de ces Barbares: ce bruit neantmoins cessa [210] pour quelque temps, & se mirent à chanter, mais d'un ton si lamentable & si lugubre, qu'il nous representoit l'horrible tristesse & l'abyfme du defefpoir, dans lequel font plongées pour iamais ces ames malheureufes.

Tout estoit prefque ietté quand nous arriuafmes, car cela fe fit quasi en vn tour de main; chacun s'estoit pressé, croyant qu'il n'y eust pas assez de place pour toutes ces ames; nous en vifmes neantmoins encore assez pour iuger du reste. Ils estoient cinq ou six dans la fosse avec des perches à arrâger ces os. La fosse fut pleine à deux pieds prés: ils renuerferent par dessus les robbes qui la débordoient tout autour, & couurirent tout le reste de nattes, & d'écorces. Pour la fosse ils la comblèrent de fable, de perches, & de pieux de bois qu'ils y ietterent fans ordre. Quelques femmes y apporterēt quelques plats de bled, & le mefme iour & les fuiuants plusieurs Cabanes du Village en fournirent des manes [manets?] toutes pleines qui furent iettées fur la fosse.

Nous auons quinze ou vingt Chrestiens enterrez avec ces Infideles, nous difmes pour leurs ames vn *De profundis*: avec vne [211] ferme eſperance, que fi la diuine bonté n'arreste le cours de ſes benedictions fur ces Peuples, cette feſte ne ſe fera plus, ou ne fera que pour les Chrestiens, & ſe fera avec des ceremonies auffi ſainctes, que celles-là font fottes & inutiles; auffi commencent-elles à leur eſtre à charge, pour les excez & depenſes ſuperfluës qui ſ'y font.

Toute la matinée ſe paſſa en largeſſes; & la plus-part des robbes, dans leſquelles auoient eſté toutes ces ames, furent coupées par pieces, & iettées du haut

with mats and bark. Then they heaped the pit with sand, poles, and wooden stakes, which they threw in without order. Some women brought to it some dishes of corn; and that day, and the following days, several Cabins of the Village provided nets quite full of it, which were thrown upon the pit.

We have fifteen or twenty Christians interred with these Infidels; we said for their souls a *De profundis*, with a [211] strong hope that, if divine goodness does not stop the course of its blessings upon these Peoples, this feast will cease, or will only be for Christians, and will take place with ceremonies as sacred as the ones we saw are foolish and useless; they are even now beginning to be a burden to them, on account of the excesses and superfluous expenses connected with them.

The whole morning was passed in giving presents; and the greater part of the robes in which the souls had been wrapped were cut into pieces, and thrown from the height of the Stage into the midst of the crowd, for any one who could get them; it was very amusing when two or three got hold of a Beaver skin, since, as none of them would give way, it had to be cut into so many pieces, and thus they found themselves almost empty-handed, for the fragment was scarcely worth the picking up. In this connection, I admired the ingenuity of one Savage,—he did not put himself to any trouble to run after these flying pieces, but, as there had been nothing so valuable in this Country, this year, as Tobacco, he kept some pieces of it in his hands which he immediately offered to those who were disputing over a skin, and [212] thus settled the matter to his own advantage.

Before going away from the place, we learned that,

du Theatre au milieu de l'affemblée à qui les emporteroit: c'estoit vn plaisir quand ils se trouuoient deux ou trois sur vne peau de Castor; car pour s'accorder il falloit la couper en autant de pieces; & ainsi ils se trouuoient quasi les mains vuides, car ce lambeau ne valloit pas quasi le ramasser. I'admiray icy l'industrie d'un Sauvage, il ne se pressoit pas bien fort pour courir apres ces pieces volantes; mais comme il n'y a rien eu de si precieux cette année dans le Païs que le Petun, il en tenoit quelque morceau dans ses mains, qu'il presentoit incontinent à ceux qui disputoient à qui auroit la peau, & en [212] conuenoit ainsi à son profit.

Auant que de sortir de la place, nous apprimes que la nuict qu'on auoit fait des presens aux Nations estrangeres de la part du maistre du festin, on nous auoit aussi nommez; & de fait comme nous nous en allions *Anenkhondic*, nous vint presenter vne robbe neufue de dix Castors, en consideration du collier, dont ie leur auois fait present en plain Conseil, pour leur faire le chemin du ciel. Il[s] s'estoient trouuez si fort obligez de ce present, qu'ils en auoient voulu témoigner quelque recognoissance en vne si belle affemblée. Je ne l'acceptay pas neantmoins, luy disant, que comme nous ne leur auions fait ce present, que pour les porter à embrasser nostre foy, ils ne nous pouuoient obliger dauantage qu'en nous écoutant volontiers, & en croyant en celui qui a tout fait. Il me demâda ce que ie desirois donc qu'il fist de la robbe; Je luy répondis qu'il en disposast comme bon luy sembleroit, dequoy il demeura parfaitement satisfait.

Pour le reste des douze cens presens, quarante huict robes furent employées à parer la fosse. Chaque

during the night, when they had made presents to outside Nations on behalf of the master of the feast, our names had been mentioned. And indeed, as we were going away, *Anenkhiondic* came to present to us a new robe of ten Beaver skins, in return for the collar that I had given them as a present in open Council, to open for them the way to heaven. They had felt themselves under such obligations for this gift that they desired to show some gratitude for it in so great an assembly. I did not accept it, however, telling him that, as we had only made this present to lead them to embrace our faith, they could not render us greater service than by listening to us willingly, and believing in him who made all things. He asked me then what I desired he should do with the robe; I replied that he might dispose of it as seemed good to him, whereat he remained perfectly satisfied.

As to the rest of the twelve hundred presents, forty-eight robes were used in adorning the pit. Each whole body had [213] its robe, and some had two or three. Twenty were given to the master of the feast, to thank the Nations which had taken part therein. The dead distributed a number of them, by the hands of the Captains, to their living friends; some served only for show, and were taken away by those who had exhibited them. The Old Men and the notables of the Country, who had the administration and management of the feast, took possession secretly of a considerable quantity; and the rest was cut in pieces, as I have said, and ostentatiously thrown into the midst of the crowd. However, it is only the rich who lose nothing, or very little, in this feast. The middle classes and the poor bring and leave there

corps entier emporta [213] sa robbe, & quelques-vns deux & trois. On en donna vingt au maistre du festin pour remercier les Nations qui auoient assisté à la feste. Les defuncts en distribuerent quantité, par les mains des Capitaines, à leurs amis viuans. Vne partie ne feruit que de parade, & fut retiré de ceux qui les auoient exposées. Les Anciens, & les grosses testes du Païs, qui en auoient l'administration & le maniment, en tirerent aussi souz-main vne assez bonne quantité, & le reste fut coupé en pieces, comme i'ay dit, & ietté par magnificence au milieu de l'assemblée. Cependant il n'y a que les riches qui ne perdent rien, ou fort peu, à cette feste. Les medions, & les pauvres y apportent, & y laissent ce qu'ils auoient de plus precieux, & souffrent beaucoup pour ne point paroistre moins que les autres en cette célébrité. Tout le monde se picque d'honneur.

Au reste il ne s'en est presque rien fallu, que nous n'ayons aussi esté de la feste: dès cét Hyuer le Capitaine *Aenons*, dont i'ay parlé cy-deuant, nous en vint faire ouuerture de la part des Anciens de tout le Païs. Pour lors la chaudiere n'estoit pas [214] encor diuisée. Il nous proposa donc, si nous serions contents de leuer les corps des deux François, qui sont morts en ce Païs, sçauoir est de Guillaume Chaudron, & Estienne Bruslé, qui fut tué il y a quatre ans, & que leurs os fussent mis dās la fosse commune de leurs morts. Nous luy répondîmes d'abord, que cela ne se pouuoit faire; que cela nous estoit defendu, que comme ils auoient esté baptisez, & estoient comme nous esperions dans le ciel, nous respections trop leurs os pour permettre qu'ils fussent meslez avec les os de ceux qui n'ont point esté baptisez; & puis que

whatever they have most valuable, and suffer much, in order not to appear less liberal than the others in this celebration. Every one makes it a point of honor.

Let me add that we narrowly escaped not being present at the feast. During this Winter the Captain *Aenons*, of whom I have spoken before, came to us to make an overture on behalf of the Old Men of the whole Country. At that time, the kettle was not [214] yet divided. They asked, therefore, if we would be satisfied to raise the bodies of our two Frenchmen who died in this part of the Country, Guillaume Chaudron, and Estienne Bruslé, who was killed four years ago, that their bones might be put in the common grave with their dead. We answered, first of all, that that could not be, that it was forbidden to us; that, as they had been baptized and were, as we hoped, in heaven, we respected their bones too much to permit them being mingled with the bones of those who had not been baptized; and, besides, that it was not our custom to raise the bodies.

We added, nevertheless, that as they were interred in the woods, and as they desired it so much, we would be pleased to raise their bones if they would grant us permission to put them into a private grave, along with the bones of all those we had baptized in the Country.

Four principal reasons induced us to give this answer. 1. As it is the greatest pledge of friendship and alliance they have in the Country, we [215] were already granting to them on this point what they wished, and were making it appear thereby that we desired to love them as our brothers, and to live and die with them. 2. We hoped that God would be

ce n'estoit pas nostre coustume de releuer les corps.

Nous adioustasmes neantmoins apres tout cela, que comme ils estoient enterrez dans les bois, & puis qu'ils le desiroiēt si fort, nous ferions contens de leuer leurs os, à condition qu'ils nous accordassent de les mettre en vne fosse particuliere avec les os de tous ceux que nous auions baptifez dans le Païs.

Quatre raisons principales nous porterent à leur faire cette réponse. 1. Comme c'est le plus grand témoignage d'amitié & d'alliance qu'ils ayent dans le Païs, nous [215] leur accordions déjà en ce point ce qu'ils fouhaittoient, & faisions paroistre par là, que nous desirions les aymer comme nos freres, & viure & mourir avec eux. 2. Nous esperions que Dieu en feroit glorifié, principalement, en ce que separant par l'auenu de tout le Païs les corps des Chrestiens, d'avec les corps des Infideles, il n'eust pas esté difficile par apres d'obtenir des particuliers que leurs Chrestiens fussent enterrez en vn Cimetiere à part, que nous benirions pour cét effect. 3. Nous pretendions les enterrer avec toutes les ceremonies de l'Eglise. 4. Les Anciens de leur propre mouuement desiroient que nous y fissions dresser vne belle & magnifique Croix, comme ils nous témoignèrent par apres plus particulièrement. Ainsi la Croix eust esté autorisée de tout le Païs, & honorée en cette Barbarie, & ils n'eussent eu garde par apres de luy imputer, comme ils ont fait par le passé, les malheurs qui leur arriueroient.

Ce Capitaine trouua nostre proposition fort raisonnable, & les Anciens du Païs en demurerent fort contens. Quelque temps apres la chaudiere fut diuisée, & [216] comme i'ay dit, cinq Villages de cette pointe

glorified thereby,—mainly in this, that, in thus separating, with the consent of the whole Country, the bodies of Christians from those of Unbelievers, it would not have been difficult afterwards to obtain from private persons that their Christians should be interred in a Cemetery apart, which we would consecrate for that purpose. 3. We were intending to inter them with all the ceremonies of the Church. 4. The Elders, of their own accord, wished us to erect a beautiful and magnificent Cross, as they stated afterwards more particularly. Thus the Cross would have been authorized by the whole Country, and honored in the midst of this Barbarism, and they would not have taken pains thereafter to impute to it, as they have done in the past, the misfortunes that might overtake them.

This Chief found our proposition very reasonable, and the Elders of the Country seemed to be pleased with it. Some time after, the kettle was divided, and, [216] as I have said, five Villages of the part where we are, resolved to have their feast by themselves.

In the Spring, a general Assembly of the Notables of the whole Country took place, to consider everything connected with this feast, to endeavor to heal this schism, and to reunite the kettle. The disaffected ones were there, and I was invited also. The same proposition was made to me; I replied that we would be quite satisfied provided the conditions we had asked should be fulfilled. They referred to the division of the kettle, and asked me,—since there were two kettles, that is, two pits,—with which did I desire our private grave to be. To this I answered, in order not to offend any one, that I referred the mat-

où nous fommes, se refolurent de faire leur fefte à part.

Au Printemps il fe fit vne Affemblée generale des Notables de tout le Païs, pour aduifer à tout ce qui concernoit cette fefte, & pour tafcher d'ofter ce fchifme, & reünir la chaudiere. Ces efprits mécontents s'y trouuerent: i'y fus auffi inuité; on me fit la mefme propofition: ie repondis que nous en ferions tres-contents, pourueu que cela fe fift avec les conditions que nous auions demandé. On me fit instance fur la diuifion de la chaudiere, & me demanderent, puis qu'il y auoit deux chaudiere, c'eft à dire deux fosses, de quel cofté ie defirois que fust noître fosse particuliere. A cela ie leur fis reponse, pour n'offenser perfonne, que ie remettois la chose à leur iugement, qu'ils estoient bons & sages, qu'ils y aduiffent entre eux. Le Maistre du festin de la Rochelle dit là dessus par condescendance, que pour luy il n'y pretendoit rien, & qu'il estoit content que l'autre, qui est le Chef de cette pointe, eust de son cofté les corps de nos deux Francois. Cetui-cy repondit qu'il ne pretendoit rien à celuy qui auoit [217] esté enterré à la Rochelle; mais que pour le corps d'Eftienne Brulé il luy appartenoit, que c'estoit luy qui l'auoit embarqué & emmené en ce Païs: ainfi voila les corps diuifez l'un d'un cofté, l'autre de l'autre. Là dessus quelqu'un dit sous main, qu'en effet il auoit droit de demander le corps d'Eftienne Brulé, & qu'il estoit bien raisonnable qu'ils rendissent quelque honneur à ses os, puis qu'ils l'auoient tué. Cecy ne se peût dire si secrettement, que ce Capitaine n'en eust le vent; il dissimula neantmoins sur l'heure ses sentimens. Apres le Conseil, comme nous estions déjà fortis, il releua

ter to their judgment; that they were good and wise, and could talk over the affair among themselves. The Master of the feast of la Rochelle then said, condescendingly, that, so far as he was concerned, he claimed nothing; that he was perfectly satisfied that the other, who is the Chief at this place, should have on his side the bodies of our two Frenchmen. The other replied that he laid no claim to him who had [217] been buried at la Rochelle; but, as for the body of Estienne Bruslé it belonged to him, since he had embarked him and brought him into the Country; and thus the bodies were divided, one on one side, one on the other. Thereupon some one said, in an undertone, that he was quite right in asking the body of Estienne Bruslé,—that it was very reasonable that they should render honor to his bones, since they had killed him. This was not said so discreetly as not to be heard by the Captain; he dissembled his feelings, however, for the time being. After the Council, when we had left, he took notice of the reproach, and had very high words with the Captain of la Rochelle; and finally ceased to lay any claim to the body of Bruslé, in order not to irritate and reopen this wound, from which those of this part have not yet purged themselves.

This made us also deem it best, with those of la Rochelle, not to touch either the one or the other. Truly there is reason here to admire the secret judgments of God; for that infamous wretch did not deserve to have this honor shown him; and, to tell the truth, we would have had [218] much difficulty in resolving to make on this occasion a private Grave, and in transporting to consecrated Ground a dead man that had lived so scandalous a life in the Coun-

cette reproche, & se prit bien fort de parole avec le Capitaine de la Rochelle; & en fin se deporta entiere-ment du corps de Brulé, pour ne point aigrir & enfanglanter dauantage cette playe, de laquelle ceux de cette pointe n'ont peu encor se purger.

Ce qui nous fit aussi refoudre à faire trouuer bon à ceux de la Rochelle, que nous ne touchassions ny à l'un, ny à l'autre. Veritablement il y a dequoy admirer icy les secrets iugemens de Dieu; car cét infame aussi bien ne meritoit pas cét honneur; & pour dire le vray nous eussions eu [218] assez de peine à nous refoudre de faire à son occasion un Cimetiere particulier, & de transporter en Terre sainte un corps qui a mené une vie si scandaleuse dans le Païs, & donné aux Sauvages une si mauuaise impression des mœurs des François. D'abord quelques-uns trouuerent mauuais que nous en demeurassions là, & s'en offenserent, nous alleguant que cela estant, ils ne pourroient pas se vanter, comme ils esperoient, auprès des Peuples estrangers d'estre parens des François; autrement qu'on leur pourroit dire qu'il n'y auoit gueres d'apparence, puis que nous n'auons voulu mettre les os des nostres avec les leur[s]: par apres neantmoins ayant ouy toutes nos raisons, ils iugerent que nous faisions prudemment, & que c'estoit le vray moyen de nous maintenir en amitié les uns avec les autres.

Finiray-ie la presente par cette ceremonie funebre? Ouy, puis qu'elle est une marque assez claire de l'esperance d'une vie future, que la nature semble nous fournir dans l'esprit de ces Peuples, comme un moyen tres-propre à leur faire gouster les promesses de Iesus-Christ. N'y a-t'il pas occasion d'esperer qu'ils

try, and had given to the Savages so bad an impression of the morals of the French. At first, some felt annoyed that we did not join in the feast, and were offended,—saying to us that our action prevented them from boasting, as they had hoped, to strange Tribes that they were relations of the French; and they were afraid they would say that the friendship was only in appearance, since we had not allowed the bones of our Frenchmen to mingle with theirs. Afterward, however, when they had heard all our reasons, they thought we had acted prudently, and that it was the true way to maintain friendship with both parties.

Shall I finish the present letter with this funeral ceremony? Yes, since it is a very clear token of the hope of a future life that nature herself seems to furnish us in the minds of these Tribes, as a most fitting means to get them to taste the promises of Jesus Christ. Is there not reason to hope that they will do so, [219] and as soon as possible? Of a truth, I dare indeed affirm that, judging from present appearances, we have grounds for strengthening our courage, and saying about our Hurons what saint Paul wrote to the Philippians, *Confidens hoc ipsum, quia qui cepit in vobis opus bonum, perficiet usque in diem Christi Jesu*. These poor people open their ears to what we say to them about the Kingdom of Heaven; they find it very reasonable, and dare not contradict it; they fear the judgments of God in a future life; they are beginning to have recourse with us to his goodness in their necessities, and Our Lord seems to favor them, at times, with some special assistance. They procure Baptism for those whom they see in danger of death; they give us their children to be instructed,

le ferront, [219] & au pluſtoſt. Certes i'oferay bien aſſeurer que eû égard à ce qui paroift, nous auons dequoy fortifier nos courages, & dire ſur nos Hurons ce que ſainct Paul eſcriuoit aux Philippiens: *Confidens hoc ipſum, quia qui capit in vobis opus bonum, perficiet vſque in diem Chriſti Ieſu*. Ces pauvres gens ouurent les oreilles à ce que nous leur difons du Royaume du Ciel, ils le trouuent fort raifonnable, & n'oſent y contredire: ils apprehendent les iugemens de Dieu en l'autre vie, ils commencent à auoir recours avec nous à ſa bonté en leurs neceſſitez; & Noſtre Seigneur ſemble les y fauorifer par fois de quelque aſſiſtance particuliere. Ils procurent le Bapteſme à ceux qu'ils voyent en danger de mort: ils nous donnent leurs enfans pour eſtre inſtruits, iuſques à permettre qu'ils faſſent les trois cens lieuës à cét effet, nonobſtant les tendres affections qu'ils ont pour eux; ils ſe promettent de les ſuiure vn iour, & nous témoignent qu'ils ne nous donneroient pas des gages ſi precieus, s'ils n'auoient enuie de nous tenir parole. Vous diriez qu'ils ne s'attendent qu'à en voir vn d'entre eux qui franchiſſe le premier ce pas redoutable, & [220] qui oſe aller contre la couſtume du Pays. C'eſt au reſte vn Peuple qui a ſa demeure arreſtée, iudicieux, capable de raifon, & aſſez multiplié.

Ie fis mention l'an paſſé de douze Nations toutes ſedentaires & nombreuſes, qui entendent la langue de nos Hurons: & nos Hurons font en vingt Villages enuiron trente mille ames; ſi le reſte eſt à proportion, en voila plus de trois cens mille de la ſeule langue Huronne. Dieu nous donne du credit parmy eux, nous y met en eſtime, & fait que nous y foyons aimez iuſques là, que nous ne ſçauons à qui entendre,

even permitting them to come three hundred leagues for that purpose, notwithstanding the tender affection they have for them; they promise to follow them some day, and declare they would not give us pledges so precious, if they were not desirous of keeping their word. You might say they are only waiting to see one of their number take the first dreaded step, and [220] venture to run counter to the customs of the Country. Let me add they are a People who have a settled habitation,—judicious, capable of reason, and sufficiently numerous.

I made mention last year of twelve Nations, all being sedentary and populous and who understand the tongue of our Hurons; and our Hurons make, in twenty Villages, about thirty thousand souls. If the remainder is in proportion, there are more than three hundred thousand of the Huron tongue alone. God gives us influence among them, causes us to be held in estimation, makes us so much loved that we do not know to whom to listen, so eager is every one to have us. In truth, we should be very ungrateful to the mercy of God if we lost courage amid all this, and did not give him time to bring forth the fruit in its due season.

It is true I have some little fear in regard to the time when I must employ a new language in reference to their morals, and teach them to keep down the flesh, and hold them in the honesty of Marriage, preventing divorces by fear of the judgments of God on the lewd; when it will be a question of [221] saying to them on all occasions, *Quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt*. I am afraid they will become restive when we shall speak to them of being reclothed in Jesus Christ, of wearing his livery, and

tant vn chacun eft afpre à nous auoir. En verité nous ferions bien ingrats à la grace de Dieu, fi nous perdions courage parmy tout cela, & ne luy donnions le loifir de porter fon fruit en fa faifon.

Il eft vray que i'ay quelque peu d'apprehenfion pour le temps auquel il faudra leur tenir vn langage nouveau fur leurs mœurs, & leur apprendre à clouer leurs chairs, & les retenir dans l'honnesteté du Mariage, en retranchant les diffolutions par la crainte des iugemens de Dieu fur les luxurieux; lors qu'il fera question de [221] leur dire en tout plein d'occasions, *Quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt.* I'ay peur qu'ils fassent les rétifs, quand on leur parlera de se reueftir de Iefus-Chrift, de porter fa liurée, & se distinguer en qualité de Chrestiens d'auec ce qu'ils auront esté auparauant, par vne vertu dont à peine cognoiffent-ils le nom, quand on leur crierà auec l'Apostre, *C'est là la volonté de Dieu, vostre sanctification, qu'un chacun scache conseruer son corps comme un vase précieux en sanctification & en honneur, & non le laissant aller aux passions de ses desirs, comme les Gentils qui ne cognoiffent point Dieu.* Il est, dis-ie, bien à craindre qu'ils ne s'effrayent sur le propos de la pureté & chasteté, & qu'ils ne se rebutent à son occasion de la doctrine du Fils de Dieu, difans auec les Capharnaïtes sur vn autre fuiet, *Durus est hic sermo, & quis potest eum audire?* Toutefois puis qu'auec la grace de Dieu nous auons déia obtenu d'eux par la profession ouuerte que nous auons fait de cette vertu, qu'ils n'osent ny faire, ny dire en nostre presence chose aucune qui luy soit contraire, iufques à menacer les Estrangers quand ils s'échappent deuant nous, & les aduertir que les François [222] & sur tout les

of being distinguished in the capacity of Christians, from what they were previously, by a virtue of which they scarcely recognize the name, when we shall say to them with the Apostle, *For this is the will of God, your sanctification; that every one of you should know how to preserve his body as a precious vessel in sanctification and in honor, and not give way to the passion of his lusts, like the Gentiles that know not God.* It is, I say, much to be feared that they will be alarmed at the proposal of purity and chastity, and that they will reject, when it is presented, the doctrine of the Son of God, saying with the men of Capernaum, on another subject, *Durus est hic sermo, et quis potest eum audire?* Since, however, by the grace of God, through the open profession we have made of this virtue, we have secured thus much, that they dare neither to do nor to mention anything contrary to it in our presence,—even going so far as to threaten Strangers when they offend against propriety before us, warning them that the French [222] and especially the black Robes, detest such liberties,—is it not most probable that, if once the holy Spirit takes them in hand, he will impress upon them so deeply, in every place and time, the respect they owe to his divine presence and immensity, that they will be very glad to be chaste in order to be Christians, and will ask earnestly to be Christians in order to be chaste? I imagine that it was for this particular purpose that Our Lord inspired us to put them under the special protection of saint Joseph. This great Saint,—who was in other times given as a Spouse to the glorious Virgin, to conceal both from the eyes of the world and from the Devil a virginity that God honored by his Incarnation,—has so much power with this Holy Lady, in whose

Robbes noires detestent ces priuauitez. N'est-il pas plus croyable que si le sainct Esprit les entreprend vne fois, il leur imprimera si auant en tout lieu & en tout temps le respect qu'ils doiuent à sa diuine pre-
sence & immensité, qu'ils feront bien aises d'estre chastes pour estre Chrestiens, & demanderont avec instance d'estre Chrestiens pour pouuoir estre chastes. Je me figure que c'est pour ce dessein particulier que Nostre Seigneur nous a inspiré de les mettre en la protection de sainct Ioseph: Ce grand Saint qui a esté donné autresfois pour Espoux à la glorieuse Vierge, & pour cacher aux yeux du monde, & du Diable vne virginité que Dieu honora de son Incarnation, a tant de pouuoir enuers cette Sainte Dame, entre les mains de laquelle son Fils a mis comme en depost nommément toutes les graces qui concourent à cette vertu celeste, qu'il n'y a presque rien à craindre dans le vice contraire pour ceux qui luy font deuots solidement, tels que nous desirons estre nos Hurons & nous. C'est à cét effet, & pour la conuersion entiere de tous ces Peuples, que nous [223] nous recommandons cordialement aux prieres de tous ceux qui aiment, ou veulent aimer Dieu, & en particulier de tous nos Peres & Freres.

De la Residence de S. Ioseph, aux Hurons, au Village nommé Ihonatiria, ce 16. de Iuillet, 1636.

Vostre tres-humble, & tres-obeïssant seruiteur en nostre Seigneur,

JEAN DE BREBEVF.

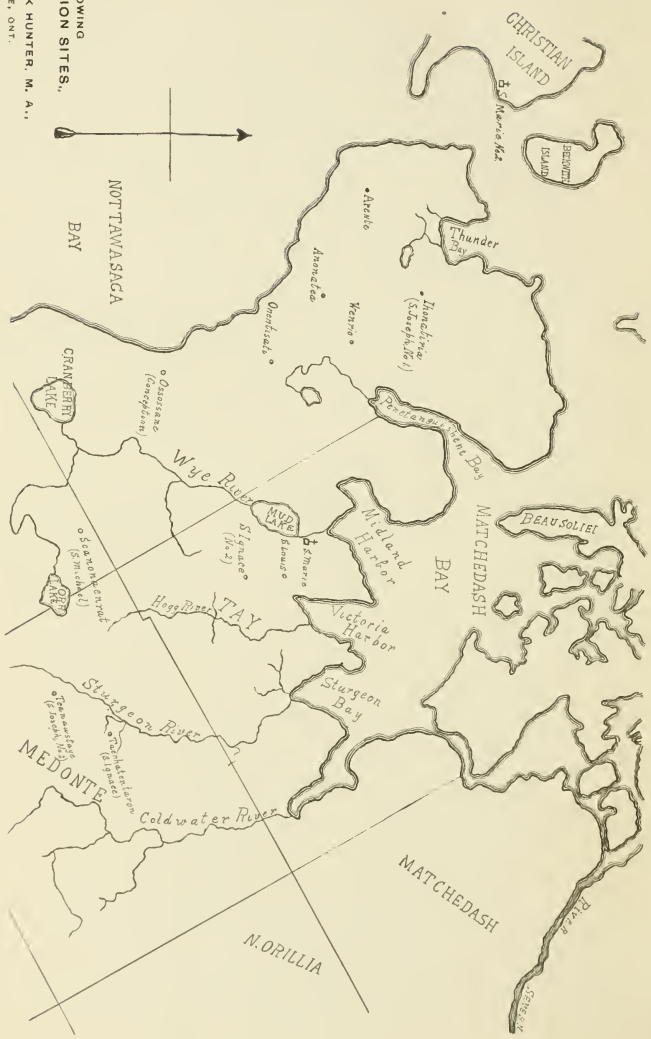
hands her Son has placed, as in deposit, all the graces which assist this celestial virtue, that there is scarcely anything to fear in the contrary vice for those who are fully devoted to her, such as we desire our Hurons and ourselves to be. It is for this end, and for the complete conversion of these Tribes, that we [223] commend ourselves cordially to the prayers of all those who love or wish to love God, and in particular of all our Fathers and Brothers.

*From the Residence of St. Joseph in
the Huron Country, at the Village called
Ihonatiria, this 16th of July, 1636.*

Your very humble and very
obedient servant in our
Lord,

JEAN DE BREBEUF.

MAP SHOWING
HURON MISSION SITES,
BY
ANDREW FREDERICK HUNTER, M. A.,
OF BARRIE, ONT.



NOTES TO VOL. X

(Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.)

Map of Huron Country.—The (subsidiary) map of the Huron country which appears on the large map accompanying vol. i. of this series is substantially the same as that given in Parkman's *Jesuits*, which was based on Taché's researches. The map in the present volume, facing this page, embodies the results of the archaeological investigations pursued in the Huron country during the thirty years and more since Taché (vol. v., pp. 295–298), in the identification of mission sites—notably those of St. Michael, St. Joseph, and St. Ignace, which are now more satisfactorily established than when Parkman wrote his *Jesuits*. This map has been prepared especially for this work, by Andrew F. Hunter, of Barrie, Ont., whose careful and enthusiastic researches are already known to our readers through his notes, contributed to this series, on Huron tribes and localities; and it will aid the reader to follow more accurately the vicissitudes of the ill-fated Huron missions.

Localities indicated on this map are described in preceding volumes as follows: Vol. v.,—country of the Attignaouantan (Bear clan), note 17; Ossossané and Ihonatiria, notes 60, 61. Vol. viii.,—Oënrío (Wenrio), note 31; Scanonaenrat, note 38; Onentisati, note 42. See also vol. viii., note 23, for location of the Attiguenongha clan of Hurons.

Through an oversight, the map does not indicate the name of the township of Tiny; this lies west of the township of Tay, and extends from Thunder Bay, on the north, to Cranberry Lake on the southern end.

1 (p. 11).—For location of Scanonaenrat, see vol. viii., note 38.

2 (p. 43).—Regarding the capture of the fleet, here mentioned, see vol. iv., note 46.

3 (p. 45).—The myth of the Thunder-Bird was, in some form or other, common to all North American tribes, from Mexico to Hudson's Bay, and from the St. Lawrence to Bering Strait; and it is still current among most of the northern and western tribes. They explain the vivid and (to them) mysterious and terrible phenomena of the thunderstorm as proceeding from an immense bird, so large

that its shadow darkens the heavens; the thunder is the sound made by flapping its wings, the lightning is the flashing or the winking of its eyes, and the deadly and invisible thunderbolts are arrows sent forth by the bird against its enemies. The Indians greatly dread this imaginary bird, often addressing prayers to it during a thunder-storm; and they have many traditions and superstitions regarding it. The tribes about Puget Sound and in Alaska perform the "black tamahnous," or "thunder-bird ceremony,"—a rite often savage and bloody. Many tribes regarded the thunder-bird as the Creator of the world, to which it brought fire from heaven; and Dakota legends relate the unceasing strife between Unktahe, the god of waters, and Wauhkeon, the thunder-bird. For details of this myth, see Eells's "The Thunder-Bird," and Chamberlain's "Thunder-Bird among the Algonkins," in *Amer. Anthropologist*, vol. ii., pp. 329–336; vol. iii., pp. 51–54. Cf. the legend of the "Weendigoes," in Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches*, vol. ii., pp. 114–116; and that of the "sacred pole" of the Omahas, *Amer. Antiquarian*, vol. xvii., pp. 265–268; also Mrs. Eastman's *Dahcotah; or, Legends of the Sioux* (N. Y., 1849), pp. 212–242.

Brinton (*Myths of New World*, pp. 239, 240) thus explains this myth: "The intimate connection that once existed between the myths of the deluge and those of the creation is illustrated by the part assigned to birds in so many of them. They fly to and fro over the waves ere any land appears, though they lose in great measure the significance of bringing it forth, attached to them in the cosmogonies as emblems of the divine spirit. The dove in the Hebrew account appears in that of the Algonkins as a raven, which Michabo sent out to search for land before the muskrat brought it to him from the bottom. A raven also in the Thlinkit and derived myths saved their ancestors from the general flood, and in this instance it is distinctly identified with the mighty thunder-bird, who at the beginning ordered the earth from the depths. Prometheus-like, it brought fire from heaven, and saved them from a second death by cold. This wondrous bird *Yetl* was the central character of the myths of all the coast tribes from the Eskimos well into and beyond Vancouver Island; and under various names, but playing the same rôle in the mighty drama of the creation and destruction of things, was familiar to the Athapascan tribes far inland. . . . In all these and similar legends, the bird is a relic of the cosmogonical myth which explained the origin of the world from the action of the winds, under the image of the bird, on the primeval ocean."

4 (p. 75).—François Marguerie, a native of Normandy, came to Canada about 1627, and served as interpreter for the Algonkins. During the English occupation of the country, he lived among the

savages; upon the return of the French, he settled at Three Rivers (still acting as interpreter), where an estate was granted to him. As Brébeuf here informs us, he spent the winter of 1635-36 at Allumettes Island. In February, 1641, Marguerie and Thomas Godefroy de Normanville were captured by the Iroquois, who, however, brought their prisoners back to Three Rivers in the following April. This episode is described at length by Vimont in the *Relation* of 1641, chaps. ix. and x.

Oct. 26, 1645, Marguerie married Louise, daughter of Zacharie Cloutier, a carpenter who had come over with Sieur Giffard (vol. vi., note 8). While crossing the St. Lawrence near Three Rivers (May 23, 1648), Marguerie and a companion, Jean Amiot, were drowned—their canoe being overturned in a sudden storm. Marguerie was noted for his fine physique, courage, and address. Lalemant praises both him and Amiot, not only for courage and skill, but because they “had, in the opinion of all the country, led blameless lives.”

Marguerie's sister Marie became the wife of Jacques Hertel (vol. ix., note 3).

5 (p. 81).—This was a favorite game among the Canadian Indians. Boucher (*Hist. vérité.*, chap. x.) thus mentions it: “The Game of Straws is played with little straws, which are made for this purpose, and which are divided very unequally in three parts, as in hazard. Our Frenchmen have not yet been able to learn this game. It is full of vivacity; and straws are among them what cards are with us.” Perrot (*Mémoire*, Tailhan's ed., pp. 46-50) gives a detailed account of the game; but his description is, according to Lafitau (*Mœurs des Sauvages*, part 2, pp. 350-352), “so obscure as to be almost unintelligible.” Charlevoix and La Potherie also attempt, but not very successfully, to describe the game: the former confesses (*Journ. Hist.*, p. 318) that “he does not at all understand it, except that sometimes the number nine wins the game.” Tailhan (*ut supra*, pp. 187, 188) cites these writers, and adds, “I am not more fortunate than my predecessors, and the game of straws remains for me an undecipherable enigma.” In general, however, it may be said that this was a game partly of chance, partly of skill; it was played with straws or rushes, the size of a wheat-stalk, and about ten inches in length. These were unequally divided into small bunches, and passed to and fro in the hands of the players—“with inconceivable dexterity,” as Lafitau says. He adds: “Uneven numbers are always lucky, and the number nine higher than all others. The division of the straws makes the game run high or low, and increases the bets, according to the different numbers, until the game is won. It is sometimes so eager, when the Villages play against one another, that it lasts two or three days.” This game

was also played, at times, in a manner resembling that of the modern "jackstraws." The writers above mentioned all confirm the statements of the Jesuits as to the infatuation of the savages for this and other forms of gambling, and their accompanying evils.

6 (p. 83).—*Naiz percez* (Nez Percés): the Beaver tribe (Algonkin, *Amiskou*, "a beaver;" French, *Nation du Castor*). These were the Amikouas, an Algonkin nation with headquarters near La Cloche and the outlet of Spanish River (in the present district of Algoma), on the north shore of Georgian Bay. Their location is made clear by Le Jeune (*Relation* of 1640, chap. x.), and also on maps of that period—Galinée, 1670; Senex, 1710; etc. They should not be confused with the modern Nez Percés of the Rockies.—A. F. HUNTER.

St. Lussou and Perrot, who at Michilimackinac took possession of the western regions in the name of France (June 4, 1671), spent the preceding winter with the Beaver tribe. Missions to these savages were undertaken by Louis André (in the spring of 1671), and Henri Nouvel (1671–72).

7 (p. 83).—*Aweatsiwaenrrhonons*: the Nipissiriniens (vol. v., notes 19, 51). The French term, *gens puants*, was also applied to the Winnebago tribe. The confusion thus arising in the identity of these tribes may have been occasioned from the fact that numerous places were marked on the early maps as "puant,"—presumably meaning "alkaline." For instance, Cattaraugus Creek, near Chautauqua, N. Y., is named on one of Sanson's maps *R. à la terre puante*.—A. F. HUNTER.

8 (p. 95).—Contarea, one of the principal Huron strongholds, was situated close to a small lake in Tiny township, now known as Lannigan's Lake, the position of which is indicated on Du Creux's map. Brébeuf mentions this water as distant from Ihonatriia a day's journey; but it is not more than ten miles from the mission headquarters. Laverdière, arguing from a remote similarity in names, suggests the identity of Contarea with Carmaron, seen by Champlain in 1615 (*Voyages*, Laverdière's ed., p. 515); but it is not probable that any Huron town or village continued to exist at one place for so long a period as twenty years.—A. F. HUNTER.

9 (p. 103).—*Citrouilles*: the summer squash (*Cucurbita polymorpha*); it is figured on Champlain's map of 1612. Boucher (*Hist. vérit.*, chap. viii.) thus describes them: "Citrouilles, of a species different from those of France; they are smaller, and not so unsubstantial; their flesh is firmer and less watery, and of a better flavor."

10 (p. 103).—Concerning the use and preparation of corn as food, see vol. v., note 28.

11 (p. 127).—See also Brébeuf's account of Ataentsic in the *Relation* of 1635, vol. viii. of this series.

12 (p. 133).—For citations regarding the meaning of the myths of Ataentsic and Jouskeha, see vol. viii., note 36.

Cf. Hewitt's "Cosmogonic Gods of the Iroquois," (*Amer. Asso. Adv. Sci. Proc.*, 1895, pp. 241–250); he takes issue with Brinton as to the interpretation of these myths. He says: "If the evidence of language may be trusted, it seems safe to regard these gods as creations indigenous to the primitive philosophy of the Iroquois regarding the origin of themselves and their environment—the protology of their existence and that of the earth and the heavens. . . . *Tha-ron-hya-wä'-kon* was the ruler of the sky . . . ever benign and beneficent, at all times solicitous to promote the welfare of man, and in great emergencies even descending among men personally to aid them against adverse powers and beings of sinister aspect and malevolent purpose. From the brief introductory account of the protology of the Iroquois, it would seem to be erroneous to identify *Tha-ron-hya-wä'-kon* with *Yoskehä'* of the Huronian version, or with *O-tēñ-toñ-nĩ-ä'* of that of the Onondagas and other tribes; for the latter is the demiurge, being, strictly speaking, the grandson of the spouse of *Tha-ron-hya-wä'-kon*, *E-yä'-ta-hěñ'-tsik*. . . . It was the daughter of *E-yä'-ta-hěñ'-tsik* who became the moon which changes its form continually. It is a very common thing among writers to confound *E-yä'-ta-hěñ'-tsik* with her daughter, and hence arises the erroneous identification of *E-yä'-ta-hěñ'-tsik* with the moon. . . . On both linguistic and functional grounds, I am inclined to regard *E-yä'-ta-hěñ'-tsik* as the impersonation or goddess of night and the earth. . . . Lastly, the usual application of the appellation "grandmother" to the moon must not be construed as evidence that the grandmother of *O-teñ-toñ-nĩ-ä'* is meant; for the mother of *O-teñ-toñ-nĩ-ä'*, being born on the earth, was in fact regarded as the grandmother of the race in a stricter sense than her mother, *E-yä'-ta-hěñ'-tsik*. . . . In the protology of the Iroquois, *Yoskehä'* or *O-teñ-toñ-nĩ-ä'* is the demiurge in contrast with *Tawis'kara'* his brother, who represented the destructive or Typhonic power in nature, as exemplified by the destructiveness of frost, hail, and ice. The people held in high esteem the great and bounteous benefits they believed they enjoyed only through the care and benevolence of *Yoskehä'*. . . . It is, I believe, the reproductive, rejuvenating power in nature that is personified in *Yoskehä'*, and not the sun, which is ever portrayed as retaining the full vigor of manhood, undiminished by the lapse of years. . . . *Tawis'kara'* was so called because he spread forth hail, sleet, and ice, and the blighting frosts; because he was

the cold ice-king, the enemy and despoiler of the planted crops of man. In whatever *Tawis'kara'* did, he was instigated and abetted by his grandmother *E-yă-ta-hên'-tsik*, the goddess of night and the earth. The effects of frost and cold are best seen in the morning, when the god of ice and cold has accomplished his nefarious work under cover of darkness."

13 (p. 145).—The Tobacco Nation adjoined the Huron territory on the west (vol. v., *note* 18).

14 (p. 153).—This legend, in one form or another, was current among all the Algonkin nations. Moore's ballad, "The Lake of the Dismal Swamp," preserves in outline the version of the Powhatans or some kindred tribe in Virginia. The version found among the Ottawas in Ontario is known by the name of "The White Stone Canoe;" and the Manitoba Algonkins held it in remembrance in the beautiful legend of "Qu'appelle?" ("Who calls?").—See Maclean's *Indians; their Manners and Customs* (Toronto, 1889), p. 179. The occurrence of this legend among the Hurons, in the form given by Brébeuf in the text, suggests their long residence near the Algonkins.—A. F. HUNTER.

15 (p. 159).—The offering of tobacco was one of the commonest rites among the Indian tribes, especially the Algonkins. Several places on the east shore of Georgian Bay are still shown where until recent years they made these offerings; that located about twenty miles north of Parry Sound, rather than another on Christian Island, suggests the place mentioned in the text.—A. F. HUNTER.

Cf. Harriot's *Brief and true report of Virginia* (De Bry's ed., Frankfort, 1590), p. 16: "This Vppôwoc [tobacco] is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are maruelously delighted therwith: Wherupon sometime they make hallowed fires & cast some of the poudre therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme vppon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, some dauncing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, & staring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithal and chattering strange words and noises."

Cf. also Perrot (Tailhan's ed.), p. 20: "In journeys that they undertake, whether short or long, they utter invocations after this fashion: 'Thou who art the master of the winds, be favorable to our journey, and give us calm weather.' This is said while smoking a pipe of tobacco, the smoke of which they toss into the air. . . . If in winter they have to make an extraordinary journey upon the ice, there is a certain spirit that they invoke for this pur-

pose, called by the Algonkins Mateomek, to whom they similarly offer tobacco-smoke, praying him to be favorable to them and propitious during their march."

Of interest in this connection are the following statements regarding the tobacco used in religious rites: Smith says, "It may be worthy of remark that the tobacco burnt as an offering to the *Hondó'-i*, and in other religious ceremonies, is not the ordinary tobacco of commerce, but the original tobacco of the Iroquois, which they still cultivate for that purpose. I have not yet been able to ascertain whether this plant is identical with that (*N. quadrivalvis?*) which the Prince of Neuwied cites as being raised in his time, and used only for similar purposes and for smoking on solemn occasions by the Mandans and Meunitarris of the Upper Missouri." Beauchamp says, "The small tobacco which the New York Onondagas raise, and which all seem to prefer, is called O-yen-kwa hon-we, or 'real tobacco.' It is *N. rustica* (Linn.), introduced by the Indians in Western New York, and sparingly naturalized there. It may be the old kind from which the Tobacco Nation of Canada had its name."—See *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. i., pp. 193, 196.

16 (p. 165).—This superstition as to drowning is remarkably similar to that current among the Mississagas and other Algonkin tribes of this region before their Christianization in recent years. Susanna Moodie, a Canadian authoress, writing half a century ago of the Mississagas—in *Roughing it in the Bush* (London, 1850; Canad. reprint, Toronto, 1870), p. 302—says: "The soul of an Indian that has been drowned is reckoned accursed, and he is never permitted to join his tribe in the happy hunting grounds, but his spirit haunts the lake or river in which he lost his life. His body is buried on some lonely island, which the Indians never pass without leaving a small portion of food, tobacco, or ammunition, to supply his wants; but he is never interred with the rest of his people."—A. F. HUNTER.

17 (p. 177).—This passage is obscure in meaning—as regards both the French phrase, *qui retire au Lyon par la queue*, and the myth related of the origin of the Hurons. J. N. B. Hewitt explains it as follows: "It is probable that Brébeuf here refers to a legend (imperfectly comprehended by him) that is found to this day, in several versions, among the tribes of the Six Nations,—which may be briefly stated thus: It was the invariable custom of a certain noted hunter to sacrifice to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the forest the first game animal he might kill, in every hunting expedition. This was very acceptable to the fowls and the beasts. One day it came to pass that the enemies of the hunter's people made an incursion, and killed, among many others, this famous hunter. His death becoming known to the birds and beasts of prey, they greatly

mourned his loss; and at a grand council held by them, their chiefs resolved to restore their friend to life. The legend relates that their purpose was accomplished at a great feast. The several versions of the legend differ as to the chief actors in this alleged resuscitation of a human being; but they all agree that it was the chiefs of the beasts and birds of prey who took part in the affair. In the story here told by Brébeuf, the panther, the wolf, and the owl are the conspicuous figures. The sovereign remedy used on this occasion was, chiefly through the instrumentality of the wolves, bestowed by the assembly on man, as a gift, and is still in great repute and use among the Iroquois; it is called *Kanū ta'*. It cures wounds and internal injuries. It is difficult to identify the animal called *Ontarraoura*. The Hurons probably had, like the Iroquois, several versions of this legend, in which different animals were given preëminence."

W. M. Beauchamp suggests another interpretation: "The whole is a fable, though a reference to the Petun Wolf tribe is ingenious. I have little doubt that *Ontarraoura* is the panther, which alone of our Northern quadrupeds draws near or is allied to the lion by its tail (its distinguishing feature to a primitive people),—so much so, that it is sometimes called the American lion. It is a nocturnal animal, and so the owl would be the one to observe it. The Jesuits never mention this animal elsewhere, and perhaps the Hurons seldom saw it, as it frequents mountains. Professor Baird says that its habitat extends as far as 50° or even 60° N. lat., in mountains; but De Kay thinks its present northern (limits in the East) do not extend beyond New York. The latter also says that 'the screams attributed to this animal during the night are supposed by many hunters to proceed from some species of owl'—an odd coincidence, in view of the legend related by Brébeuf."

18 (p. 179).—The village of Andiat was notable for the feasts and minor councils held there,—chiefly because of its central location (near the center of Tiny township). This place and Onentisati were close to the fork of the forest trail—one of its branches leading to Ossossané, the other to St. Michael and St. Joseph.—A. F. HUNTER.

19 (p. 185).—*Crosse* (from Lat. *crux*, through L. Lat. *crucia*; Eng. "crozier,"—in allusion to the shape of the implement used in the game) was a favorite sport of many North American tribes. It is thus described by Perrot (Tailhan's ed.), pp. 43–46: "There is among them a certain game, 'crosse,' which has much similarity to ours of tennis. In playing this, it is their custom to set tribe against tribe, in equal numbers. Each person is equipped with a crosse,—that is, a staff which has a great curve at the end, laced

like a racket; the ball that they use in playing is of wood, and nearly the shape of a turkey's egg. The goals of the game are marked off on a level surface, and face the points of the compass. In order to win the game, one of the two parties must, in its progress, carry its ball beyond the eastern and western goals—the other, beyond the northern and southern. . . . Men, women, girls, and boys are admitted to the games that take place, and bet against one another—the wagers being more or less valuable, according to the means of each. These games usually begin after the melting of the winter's ice, and last until seed-time. . . . All assemble in a body, in the middle of the place selected; and one of the chiefs of the two parties, who holds the ball in his hands, throws it in the air. Each player undertakes to send it to that side for which he is bound; if it fall to the ground, he endeavors to draw it toward him with his crosse; and if it is sent outside the crowd of players, this is an opportunity for the most alert to distinguish themselves beyond the others by closely following it. One can hear the noise they make in striking against one another, while they strive to ward off the blows in order to send the ball in a favorable direction. If one keeps it between his feet, without letting it escape, it is for him to avoid the blows that his adversaries rain incessantly upon his feet; and if, in this encounter, he happens to be wounded, that is his own affair. Some of them are seen with broken legs or arms, and some even have been killed. It is very common to see them crippled for the rest of their days."

Charlevoix gives the following account of the game (*Journ. Hist.*, p. 319), as played by the Miamis: "It is played with a Ball, and with Staffs recurved and terminated by a sort of Racket. Two Posts are set up, which serve as Bounds, and which are distant from each other in proportion to the number of Players. For instance, if there are eighty of these, there will be a half-league between the Posts. The Players are divided into two bands, each having its own Post; and it is a question of driving the Ball as far as the Post of the opposing Party, without falling upon the ground or being touched by the hand. If either of these happens, the Game is lost,—unless he who has committed the mistake repairs it, by driving the Ball with one stroke to the Bound, which is often impossible. These Savages are so adroit in catching the Ball with their Crosses, that these Games sometimes last several days in succession."

Lafitau (*Mœurs des Sauvages*, part 2, p. 356) quotes Pollux to show that crosse is precisely the same as the Greek game of *episkyros*; Tailhan thinks it resembles the *palican* of the Chilean aborigines; and Clapin (*Dict. Canad.-Fran.*) says that it is almost the same as the *soule* of the Ardennes mountaineers in France, and,

in the opinion of many, is but a modification of the latter game as brought hither by the first French colonists of America.

Crosse (in modern phrase, "lacrosse") has been the national game of Canada since 1859—adopted from the Indian game, with modifications and improvements which have rendered it less dangerous and more scientific. For description and history of the modern game, see Lowe's "Lacrosse," in *Athletic Sports in America, England, and Australia* (Phila., 1889), pp. 519-543. The earlier form of the game, as played by the Indians, is described by one of their own race, George Copway, in his *Traditional History of the Ojibway Nation* (London, 1850), pp. 42-47. Cf. Hoffman's account of this sport among the Menomonees, in *Bur. Ethn. Rep.*, 1892-93, pp. 127-136; and Mooney's, among the Cherokees, in *Amer. Anthropol.*, vol. iii., pp. 105-132.

A game of ball was made, by stratagem, the opportunity for the capture of old Fort Mackinac from the English, during the Pontiac uprising (June 4, 1763).

20 (p. 203).—Angwiens (also written Angoutenc) was the nearest of all the towns to the capital, Ossossané, and was situated on the trail leading thence to the mission towns in northern Tiny. In 1636, Angwiens was but newly laid out.—A. F. HUNTER.

21 (p. 219).—Concerning the use of tobacco, see vol. vi., note 25. Much curious information about this plant, and its history, culture, use, manufacture, and commerce, is given in Tatham's *Essay on Tobacco* (London, 1800); Billings's *Tobacco* (Hartford, 1875); and Fairholt's *Tobacco* (London, 1876). For bibliography of the subject, see Bragge's *Bibliotheca nicotiana* (Birmingham, Eng., 1880).

22 (p. 235).—*Arendoronnonns*: see vol. viii., note 24.

23 (p. 285).—The village of Aronté (where was established the mission of Ste. Madeleine) is located by Du Creux's map on the west shore of Tiny township, near Dault's Bay. Taché seems to have regarded it as farther inland, although Du Creux's location corresponds much better with the references in the text. Remains of sites have been found, however, agreeing with both positions cited.—A. F. HUNTER.





